

**THE MOSAICS OF THE MONASTERY OF MĀR SAMUEL, MĀR SIMEON,
AND MĀR GABRIEL NEAR KARTMIN***

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with

A NOTE ON THE GREEK INSCRIPTION

by

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THE Jacobite monastery of Mār Samuel (d. ca. 408), Mār Simeon (d. 433), and Mār Gabriel (d. 667), otherwise known as Dēr 'Amr,¹ is located about five km. north-east of the village of Kartmin,² near the road

* Ernest J. W. Hawkins is responsible in this report for the technical descriptions of the mosaics which he studied in the course of several days' residence in the monastery of Mār Gabriel in November 1972. He would like to express his thanks to the Abuna, Rahip Isa Çiçek, Father Samuel Aktaş, and Brother Elia for their generous cooperation and assistance and to his wife who participated in all his work at the monastery.

The remainder of the report is by Marlia C. Mundell, who visited the monastery in August 1972, and who would like to thank the Rev. David Johnson, S. J., for his translation of the Syriac text on page 291, as well as Cyril Mango and Robin S. Cormack for various suggestions.

The photographs of Kartmin were taken by Ernest Hawkins, except those for figures 4, 5, 8, 9, 29, 40, 42, 47, and 48, as well as those for figures 13, 22, 23, and 24 which were taken by Cyril Mango. The photographs for figures 11 and 31 were kindly provided by Robert Van Nice, and the photograph for figure 12 is by Richard Anderson.

¹ This name is supposedly derived from the fact that in the seventh century the Caliph 'Omar Ibn al-Khattab bestowed upon Mār Gabriel jurisdiction over all Christian churches in the area. This name is first applied to the monastery in a Berlin manuscript, MS Sachau 315 of 1481. F. Nau, "Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartamin, suivie d'une notice sur le monastère de Qennesré," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes, Alger, 1903*, II (Paris, 1906), 32, 39.

² Although in this article we refer to the "mosaic at Kartmin," the village of that name is entirely separate from the monastery.' M. Streck,

linking Midyat and Cizre in the section of southeastern Turkey known as the Tūr 'Abdīn (fig. 1). The early history of the monastery is contained in the Lives of the three titular saints preserved in at least two Syriac manuscripts.³

The foundation date is generally accepted as 397.⁴ The monastery grew rapidly, housing at one period up to 400 monks.⁵ The histories of the monastery claim imperial patronage on the part of Arcadius and

in his article on the Tūr 'Abdīn in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, IV (Leipzig, 1931), 948, claims that there were ruins of another monastery of a Mār Simeon within the village of Kartmin. British Museum MS Add. 17265 recounts that Saliba, father of Mār Simeon, built a church in the village of Kartmin after his son had been healed by Mār Samuel. Nau, *op. cit.*, 8. Upon the death of Simeon the villagers of Kartmin stormed the monastery of Mār Samuel and Mār Simeon to claim his body for their own church. Four hundred and eighty men died that day. *Ibid.*, 18.

³ London, British Museum, MS Add. 17265 of the thirteenth century: W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*, II (London, 1870-72), 1140. Nau, *op. cit.*, 37ff. A second manuscript is in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Sachau 221 of the seventeenth century: E. Sachau, *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XXIII, *Verzeichnisse der syrischen Handschriften*, 2 (Berlin, 1899), 577ff. For additional sources, see P. Krüger, *Das syrisch-monophysitische Mönchtum im Tur-Ab(h)din von seinen Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1937), 28ff.

⁴ Nau, *op. cit.*, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 10; yet, at his death, Mār Simeon blessed "les 708 moines du monastère," *ibid.*, 18.

Honorius,⁶ Theodosius II,⁷ Anastasius,⁸ and Theodora.⁹ The mosaics discussed here and the building they adorn are attributed to workmen sent by Anastasius in 512.¹⁰ The sources also recount persecutions and pillages by the Orthodox Patriarch Ephraim of Antioch (529–544);¹¹ the Persians (580);¹² the Kurds (828–831);¹³ the Turks in 1075, at the end of the eleventh century, and in 1493;¹⁴ and the Mongols (1394).¹⁵

The ecclesiastical prominence of the monastery is attested by the residence therein of the bishop of the ʿAbdīn from the seventh century until 1088/89,¹⁶ and many of its monks became bishops of other sees, metropolitans, and patriarchs.¹⁷ Among the numerous manuscripts produced in its scriptorium, illuminated examples of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries survive in Paris and Berlin.¹⁸ The Chronicle of 846 is thought to have been composed there.¹⁹

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷ Sachau, *op. cit.*, 583. The Berlin MS seems to assign the building of certain churches by Theodosius (408) at Kartmin rather than at Ḥaḥ, as the London MS would imply. Nau, *op. cit.*, 12. Cf. A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, II, *Early Monasticism in Mesopotamia and Syria*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 197, Subsidia XVII (Louvain, 1960), 227f.

⁸ Nau, *op. cit.*, 21.

⁹ A. Socin, "Zur Geographie des Tur-ʿAb(h) din," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 35 (1881), 252. Socin found at the monastery a Karshūnī manuscript which claimed that Theodora visited the monastery with many gifts.

¹⁰ Nau, *op. cit.*, 21. Sachau, *op. cit.*, 585.

¹¹ Nau, *op. cit.*, 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3ff., 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁴ 1075: *ibid.*, 37; end of eleventh century: H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la Région de Mossoul*, (Paris, 1907), 48; 1493: Nau, *op. cit.*, 39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁶ Pognon, *op. cit.*, 44ff.

¹⁷ Krüger, *op. cit.*, 64ff.

¹⁸ J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris, 1964), 254ff., 367ff.

¹⁹ E. W. Brooks, *Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 Pertinens*, CSCO, *Chronica Minora*, II, 157f. On the scriptorium of the monastery, cf. F. Nau, "Corrections et additions au catalogue des manuscrits syriaques de Paris," *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 11, 5 (1915), 501ff.; Krüger, *op. cit.*, 76ff.; Leroy, *op. cit.*, 254ff. and 367ff. Paris Syr. 377, a *Mēmra* on Philoxenus of Mabbug, was composed in the thirteenth century by Eli of Kartmin (see *infra* p. 294 and note 99).

About the year 988 John, Bishop of the ʿAbdīn at Kartmin, revived in the ʿAbdīn the use of the Estranghelo script, which apparently endured until at least the seventeenth century.²⁰

Of the long history of the monastery as an important center of Monophysitism, what is perhaps its most interesting chapter is but briefly reported by the sources. The description of the construction in 512 of the principal church is itself fairly thorough, if perhaps somewhat fanciful.²¹ However, the event is related without much elaboration as to the cause of the Emperor Anastasius' generosity, aside from the good reputation ("la bonne renommée")²² of the monks. Account should be taken of the political and theological implications of such a commission in 512, the crucial period when Monophysitism enjoyed recently won imperial acceptance and its leaders established themselves at Antioch.²³ Although the commission by a Byzantine emperor in the early sixth century of an aniconic mosaic in a Monophysite monastery located perhaps within the Persian Empire²⁴ is of historical interest, the mosaics themselves are of considerable importance in helping to fill out our very fragmentary knowledge of eastern wall mosaics of that period. Furthermore, these mosaics offer

²⁰ Krüger, *op. cit.*, 76 and note 290. Cf. W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston, 1946), 24ff.; Leroy, *op. cit.*, 106–8.

²¹ Translations of this particular passage in the London MS: Nau, "Notice," 21ff.; Pognon, *op. cit.*, 39f. (portions only); Krüger, *op. cit.*, 37f.; J. Leroy, "Le décor de l'église du monastère de Qartamin d'après un texte syriaque," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 8 (1956), 75ff. Translations of the corresponding section of the Berlin MS: Sachau, *op. cit.*, 585f.; C. Capizzi, "L'Imperatore Anastasio I (491–518)," *Orientalia Cristiana Analecta*, 184 (1969), 221.

²² Nau, "Notice," 21. Leroy seems to place Mār Gabriel two centuries earlier than do the sources, and attributes to his sanctity the attention paid the monastery by Anastasius, "Le décor," 75.

²³ P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire, the Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491–518* (Madison, 1939), 27ff.

²⁴ L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, LXXII (Paris, 1962), 229.

evidence of certain trends relevant to the development of both Byzantine and Islamic art.

The principal church, which contains the mosaics, is located at the eastern end of the present monastery (figs. 2–4).²⁵ Adjoining the northwest corner of this church is an octagon built of brick and stone (figs. 5, 6)²⁶ whose original function remains obscure, as does that of the oblong room into which it opens on the west. Attached to these structures are two other churches—that of the Virgin and that of the Forty Martyrs²⁷—and various residential quarters. To the west of this main complex are another octagonal structure, said to be the tomb of 800 Egyptian monks,²⁸ and a cistern. In this general

area Gertrude Bell reported the remains of “a church of Mār Sh’mun.”²⁹ Most likely further ruins exist in the vicinity of the monastery.³⁰

The principal church is preceded by an open arcaded narthex, and its transverse nave is roofed with a barrel vault composed of three bays of brick cross vaulting divided by two stone arches. The north, south, and west walls of the nave are indented by broad arcaded niches (or filled arcades); there are two windows in the south wall. The east wall is pierced by three doors connecting the nave with the sanctuary and its two flanking chambers (that on the north leading to two burial chambers). This church, in contrast to the others in this region, is curiously devoid of sculptural ornamentation, but three Syriac inscriptions have been found: one carved in the large marble block in the nave, one in the narthex,³¹ and one in a small niche in the east wall of the nave.³²

More surprising is the survival in the southeast corner of the sanctuary of a fragment of a Greek inscription (fig. 39) heretofore unnoticed. On the basis of the extant fragments one may tentatively conjecture that the Greek inscription, starting at the southeast corner and running along the base of the south lunette, was repeated in Syriac starting at the northeast corner, and ending, possibly with a cross, in the northwest corner. The Syriac part of such a bilingual inscription, declaring the patronage of Anastasius in 512, would have been comprehensible to the eighth-century author³³ of the account of this patronage, and would

²⁵ Plans of the entire monastery appear in the following: G. Bell, “The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin,” in M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910), fig. 154; *idem*, *Churches and Monasteries of the Tur ‘Abdin and Neighbouring Districts*, Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur, Beiheft 9 (Heidelberg, 1913), fig. 5 (the plan used in this article and also in R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* [Baltimore, 1965], fig. 87); U. Monneret de Villard, “Le chiese della Mesopotamia,” *OCA*, 128 (1940), fig. 52. A plan of the principal church is given in: O. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery* (London, 1895), 334; Pognon, *op. cit.*, 44; C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristlicher und islamischer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1911), pl. 42 (the plan used for this article); Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, fig. 53.

²⁶ Plans of the octagon are offered by the following: Preusser, *op. cit.*, pl. 43; Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, fig. 58; J. Leroy, “L’état présent des monuments chrétiens du sud-est de la Turquie (Tur ‘Abdin et environs),” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1968), 491, fig. 3 (used here).

²⁷ Both of these churches are considered later and perhaps contemporary. Bell, *Churches*, 65. A Berlin MS, Sachau 189, contains a hymn to forty martyrs suffocated at Kartmin by the Mongols. Sachau, *op. cit.*, 591ff. Parry heard this tale around 1895, but the monks numbered 400 and in the cave where this occurred he “groped about among the skulls and bones of the 400 monks . . .,” *op. cit.*, 217. Cf. Krüger, *op. cit.*, 34f. Perhaps the church of the Forty Martyrs was built in honor of these monks after the attack by the Mongols in 1394.

²⁸ Bell, in *Amida*, 236 and fig. 158. Krüger conjectures that these Egyptians accompanied the Kartmin monks on their return, ca. 590, from exile in Persia. *Op. cit.*, 43.

²⁹ Bell, in *Amida*, 236 and abb. 157.

³⁰ Parry, *op. cit.*, 215, and Bell, in *Amida*, 231 mention a tower also to the west, as well as masses of ruined walls to the west, north, and east. Today the monks describe as the library a building half buried to the northeast of the monastery. The building has masonry shelves divided into box-like compartments.

³¹ Both of these are published by Pognon, *op. cit.*, 42 ff. The inscription on the block is dated 777, that in the narthex, about 1089.

³² This inscription is not published but the present inhabitants of the monastery claim that it is of the fourteenth century and mentions SS. Sergius and Bacchus.

³³ The thirteenth-century manuscript in London is said to be based on an eighth-century account. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), 273.

explain the source of his information as well as the brevity of his report mentioned above.

The sanctuary is small, nearly square, and very dark. Its barrel vault, constructed of brick cross vaulting, is parallel to that of the nave, springs from the east and west walls, and is slightly higher at its crown than at the apices of the lunettes. The mosaics discussed here cover the vault and lateral lunettes. The shallow apse bears traces of destroyed mosaic decoration. The lower halves of the walls are now bare, except for some relatively recent wall paintings.³⁴ The description of the sanctuary contained in the London and Berlin manuscripts describes the walls as revetted with marble,³⁵ which, considering the decoration of contemporary churches, is entirely possible.

The floor of the sanctuary is paved with *opus sectile* of black, red, and white marbles. A rectangular panel fills the west doorway (fig. 49). The main floor has a rectangular design with a border around the walls and a circular center piece with a spiraling pattern around a small grey and white variegated marble disc (32 cm. in diameter), now partly covered by the step in front of the modern altar (figs. 47, 48).

The mosaics of the vault and lunettes, however, have received little, if any, attention, although between 1842 and 1918 the monastery was visited by several Western travelers who published an assortment of observations and comments.³⁶ From 1918 to about 1954 the Ṭūr 'Abdīn was confined

within a military zone and was therefore inaccessible, and renewed traffic of visitors to the area since that period has not as yet resulted in adequate published reports of the survival of the mosaics.³⁷ To date only the following coverage of the vault mosaic has appeared:³⁸ one photograph of a corner,³⁹ two line drawings,⁴⁰ brief references to the vine scrolls,⁴¹ and a short discussion by Gertrude Bell of the style of the scrolls, amphorae, and border. The lunette mosaics have suffered even greater neglect. Miss Bell related that, "On the S. wall of the chamber, under the vault, there are fragments of mosaic in which it is possible to make out a small domed tabernacle, the dome carried on two pairs of columns. On the N. wall also there are traces of mosaic . . ."⁴² The only other visitor, Abbé Leroy, to mention these mosaic panels pronounced them "détruits."⁴³ We believe that perhaps the sole previous description of them may be found in the original account of their installation, i.e., in the London and, in a more simplified and altered form, the Berlin manuscripts (see *infra* p. 291). These lunette mosaics are omitted by A. Grabar in his discussion of the sanctuary.⁴⁴

In an attempt to make up for this omission, a brief survey was made by E. Hawkins in the late autumn of 1972 and is offered here

³⁷ Leroy, "L'état présent," 483f.

³⁸ In addition to accounts published by travelers and scholars there is a history and guide to the monastery written by the Metropolitan M. H. Dölâpönü which contains several photographs of the monastery. Turkish translation: *Deyral'umur Tarihi*, in Syriac (Mardin, 1959). An Arabic translation was published in Kaishly, Syria, in 1966 and a Turkish one in Istanbul in 1971. After this paper went to press a photograph of the vault mosaic appeared in an article by Mme N. Thierry, "Art byzantin du Haut Moyen Age en Cappadoce: l'église n° 3 de Maurucan," *Journal des Savantes* (October-December, 1972), fig. 14.

³⁹ Preusser, *op. cit.*, pl. 43.

⁴⁰ Bell, *Churches*, figs. 7 and 8.

⁴¹ Among the accounts is that of Parry (*op. cit.*, 217) who perceived "vine and fig and ears of wheat" somewhere in the vault.

⁴² Bell, *Churches*, 67.

⁴³ Leroy, "L'état présent," 483.

⁴⁴ A. Grabar, "Quelques observations sur le décor de l'église de Qartamin," *CahArch*, 8 (1956), 83ff.

³⁴ Leroy, "L'état présent," 484.

³⁵ Nau, "Notice," 22.

³⁶ Rev. G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842-1844*, I (London, 1852), 56f.; J. B. Taylor mentions the monastery "dedicated to Michael and Gabriel" while nearby in Midyat: "Travels in Kurdistan, with Notices of the Sources of the Eastern and Western Tigris, and Ancient Ruins in their Neighbourhood," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 35 (1865), 35f; cf. also Socin, *op. cit.*, 25ff.; Parry, *op. cit.*, 214ff. and 334ff.; Pognon, *op. cit.*, 39ff.; Bell, in *Amida*, 230ff.; *idem*, *Churches*, 64ff.; J. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (London, 1911), 314ff.; and Preusser, *op. cit.*, 30ff. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, I (Berlin, 1910), 370. M. Sykes, *The Caliphs' Last Heritage, a Short History of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1915), 356.

as a preliminary report on the mosaic. The conditions under which the examination of the mosaics was conducted were such that no claim can be made for absolute precision. We shall consider first the technical condition of the mosaics.

CONDITION OF THE MOSAICS

The colors of the tesserae are overcast, in some places totally obscured, by thin deposits of lime and soot which give to the whole a light gray or blackened appearance. For the most part it is possible to determine the true colors only by examining them closely and by cleaning small areas or parts of the faces of tesserae; of necessity a slow process. Because of this condition we do not claim the description given below to be exact, and it must be understood that where details of particular features of the designs are given these refer only to the limited areas which it was possible to reach and partially to clean; elsewhere there may be considerable variations in design and color.

The church, whose roof has probably been inadequate over long periods of time, now has a steep pent roof covered a few years ago with concrete, the wide expanse of which has developed cracks which should be repaired to check further deterioration. The deposits on the mosaics were probably created by lime, carried down by rain water from the masonry above, combining with soot from the smoke of frequent fires below. Around its lower parts the mosaic has been partly obscured by splashes and smears of later rough renderings of the walls below.

A huge carved stone altar, erected twenty years ago and reminiscent of a mihrab, stands like a tower at the center of the sanctuary and destroys the overall effect of the mosaic vault. It is to the credit of the present incumbents of the monastery that they are endeavoring to arrange for removal of the altar to some suitable place elsewhere.

Most of the mosaic of the vault survives, but there are several losses, notably to the west of the center and along the lower part on the west, and to the east behind the top of the modern altar. In the south lunette most of the lower and middle parts of the mosaic has fallen. The greater part of the

north lunette mosaic has been lost and of what remains much is in imminent danger of collapse. Other areas where further falls could occur are at the left side of the south lunette and near the center of the vault. Adequate scaffolding, time, and skilled workmanship will be necessary if this is to be averted. There is indeed an urgent need for steps to be taken to save this unique decoration.

All the mosaic in the shallow apse recess has been lost, but an irregular area of setting-bed (1.15 m. \times .75 m.) bearing traces of the frescoed design is exposed on the north side of the original window opening and it is possible that more extends around to the other side underneath comparatively modern renderings. The design on the setting-bed is not immediately apparent though it seems to be a foliate decoration. Four years ago, as a security precaution, the apse window was almost entirely blocked up, leaving the sanctuary virtually devoid of natural light except for a brief period in the morning.

On the south, east, and north walls of the "tomb chamber" chapel to the north of the northern compartment of the sanctuary, there are areas of the characteristic intermediate rendering⁴⁵ for mosaic which bears a rough herringbone pattern of incised lines. This plaster is similar to that which can be seen in some places where mosaic has been lost in the sanctuary (fig. 20), and it is reasonable to suppose that this chamber was decorated with mosaic at the same time as the sanctuary.

Over the door of the nave leading into the north part of the sanctuary is a cross made up of mosaic tesserae and probably some pieces of ceramic. It appears, from the floor, to be modern.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSAICS

The date of 512 given by the sources for the construction and decoration of the church

⁴⁵ As might be expected over a brick vault, there are three renderings of lime plaster; the first roughly finished, the intermediate keyed with the point of a sharp tool with lines in a broad herringbone pattern for the reception of the setting-bed, which was frescoed in the usual manner.

has been generally accepted,⁴⁶ and, from what is visible of the mosaics through the film of soot and lime that covers them, it is possible to discern certain elements of design for which fifth- and sixth-century stylistic and iconographic parallels can be found. Much of the basic ornamental vocabulary exists in the pavements of Antioch, Lebanon, and Palestine, in the Rabbula Gospels, and at Istanbul.

THE VAULT (fig. 7)

Trellis and Amphorae

The vault is filled with grape vines growing from amphorae placed diagonally at each of its four corners and forming rinceaux patterns over its entire surface, except at the center where there is a medallion containing a rayed, jewelled cross with arms of equal length, and over the apse recess and west doorway where there are smaller medallions in which small gold crosses are set.

Gold tesserae are used for the general background of the vault, whereas those for the branches of the vines are of coarse brown ceramic. The leaves and bunches of grapes which fill all the spirals of the vines are made up, respectively, of green and blue glass and of pink marble and warm colored glasses. Two vine stems spring from each of the amphorae at the corners.

All the amphorae are of silver and are encircled at the middle by a gold band set with jewels. The lower half of the body of each is decorated with three repoussé spatulate forms, and each rests on a small spherical stem above a conical base. Though all are of the same general design, there are small differences of detail and color and no two are quite alike.

At the northeast corner the amphora (height 69 cm.; width 35 cm.) (figs. 9, 14), high-shouldered in form, is shaded with light blues along its right side, and the five diamond-shaped jewels on its gold band are alternately red and green in color. The

other three amphorae all have spherical bodies.

The southeast amphora (height 68 cm.; width 31.5 cm.) (fig. 15) is shaded overall with dark blues. On the band four rectangular green jewels alternate with three of limestone,⁴⁷ shaped like diamonds. There is a circular gold tesserae at the center of the spherical stem above the conical base.

The southwest amphora (height 65 cm.; width 32 cm.) (fig. 16) is shaded with pale blues. Around the middle are three diamond-shaped green jewels and two rectangular jewels of limestone tesserae. This amphora differs from the others in that all its decoration is arranged as if on a disc applied to the spherical form of the body. The repoussé spatulate forms are repeated in its upper half.

Of the northwest amphora (height 73 cm.; width 34 cm.) (figs. 8, 17) all the main forms are outlined with limestone and shaded with dark blues on its left side. The raised forms are lit with limestone and red glass, and nine small jewels on the band are alternately blue diamond-shaped tesserae and limestone rectangular tesserae. The latter were probably coated with red paint whenever they were used in jewels.⁴⁸

The vine trellis, issuing from the four corner amphorae, which covers the vault is a decorative device dating back to at least the early third century A.D.⁴⁹ With variations it continued in use, both in vaults and pavements, until the period considered here. Avi-Yonah cites the vine trellis, issuing

⁴⁷ The condition of the mosaic is such that it is difficult to classify the colors and materials employed. The coarse brown tesserae mentioned above in the description of the vine may be rough opaque glass. The designation limestone has been used for what are undoubtedly natural materials but may not be the matt white limestone encountered in mosaics elsewhere. In some places pink marble seems to be used, particularly in the grapes but also in the flowers, etc., in the lunettes. In other mosaics this pink marble is usually encountered only in flesh tones.

⁴⁸ It is interesting to find here, once more, the practice of using tesserae dipped in red paint to give a lighter tone of red than that of the opaque red glass which has insufficient variation of tone to allow for the selection of a lighter or brighter value.

⁴⁹ D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, I (Princeton, 1947), 509.

⁴⁶ S. Guyer dates the architecture of the church to the seventh century. "Surp Hagop (Djinndiirmene), eine Klosterruine der Kom-magene," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 35 (1912), 498f.

from a central amphora, as "the commonest decoration" of Christian pavements in Palestine.⁵⁰ At Kartmin the diagonal placement of the amphorae, pointing toward the central cross, is similar to the treatment of corner elements in other vaults of the period, such as the Cappella di S. Matrona in S. Prisco near Capua,⁵¹ the Oratory of St. John the Evangelist in the Lateran Baptistery at Rome, and the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, the chapel of the Archepiscopal Palace, and S. Vitale at Ravenna.

The vines themselves fan out from the corners into a pattern of curls, many of which double inward forming concentric circles which frame flatly-rendered bunches of grapes and leaves (fig. 10). This abstract stylization is, according to Levi, characteristic of the last phase of Antioch pavements.⁵² Rinceaux resembling those at Kartmin cover several arch soffits of the galleries of St. Sophia, Istanbul, including those of the exedrae which can be safely considered Justinianic (fig. 11). Aside from an affinity of style, the striking aspect of the vines of Kartmin and St. Sophia is the absence of animate creatures. The vine trellis and rinceaux of this period nearly always contain, besides the grapes and leaves, an assortment of birds and beasts; so the exclusion of the latter from the vine motifs as used in these two churches is one of the most notable features of these mosaics and will be discussed below.

The type of amphora at Kartmin corresponds to that designated by Levi as part of the late Antioch style.⁵³ One detail the Kartmin amphorae share with other vessels of this period is the rather awkward shape of the handles which could be roughly described as a rounded reversed Greek sigma. This shape is found in a mosaic at Antioch in the portico of the upper level of the House of the Buffet Supper (possibly mid-fifth century) and, in modified form, in Room 1 of the upper

level of the House of the Bird Rinceaux (first half of the sixth century).⁵⁴ The same type of vase appears in the decorative sculpture of the church at Qalb Loseh (ca. 500) and of the tetraconch church at Rusafa (ca. 520) (fig. 12), and slightly later examples can be found in illuminated manuscripts produced in the area—the Rabbula Gospels (568)⁵⁵ and Syr. 341 in Paris (sixth-seventh century).⁵⁶ This form of handle differs from the "S" form found in other contemporary representations of vessels at Ravenna, Lebanon, Palestine, and, closer to Kartmin, at Dēr al-Za'farān near Mardin (fig. 13).

Crosses in Medallions

The most interesting aspect of the vault mosaic is that of the three crosses in medallions. The crosses are all equal-armed and tear-drop jewels flare out from the corners of each of the arms. Furthermore, each cross displays one, or a combination, of the properties of the following types: jewelled, rayed, stepped, "Tree of Life," and those decorated with discs or "pendilia." Examples of all of these types existed before 512.

The diameter of the medallion at the crown of the vault (fig. 18) is 1.40 m. The outer border is composed of lotus flowers pointing alternately inward and outward, the bases of those facing out being red, and of those facing in, green. The pointed petals are drawn with silver and the whole design is constructed on a serpentine line which forms the main shape of the flowers. The center of the medallion is filled with an equal-armed gold *crux gemmata* with silver rays. There are tear-shaped tesserae at the corners of each of the arms, upon which two green diamond-shaped jewels and two rectangular red jewels are set. At the center is a green cross. The background is colored in three zones of blue, growing lighter toward the center. In each of the spaces between the rays and the cross there are six silver stars.

⁵⁰ M. Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine* (reprinted from *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, II and III*) (London, Edinburgh, etc., 1933?), 80.

⁵¹ E. W. Anthony, *A History of Mosaics* (Boston, 1935), pl. xxviii (99).

⁵² Levi, *op. cit.*, 510 ff.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 512.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. cxxv a and xci.

⁵⁵ C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels, Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut., I, 56 in the Medicaean-Laurentian Library* (Olten-Lausanne, 1959), fols. 4a, 6a, 8b.

⁵⁶ Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, II, pl. 48-4.

The outer diameter of the medallion over the west doorway (fig. 19) is 59 cm. The border, which is about 10 cm. wide, has a fan design moving in a counter-clockwise direction. The inner segments of the fans are red; the outer halves, green, and all are outlined with gold. The cross, in gold with tear-shaped tesserae at the corners of the upper arms, stands upon a three-stepped base, and the overall background of the medallion is red with plain gold discs in the spaces above the arms of the cross and a spray of green leaves on each side below. All the main forms are outlined with bottle glass.⁵⁷

Only the upper area of the medallion over the apse recess survives (figs. 20, 21). The diameter of the medallion is estimated to have been 66 cm., its border about 13 in width. The background of the medallion is of limestone. The gold cross, which appears to have had steps at the base, similar to that above the west doorway, is outlined with bottle glass and has tear-shaped silver tesserae at the corners of the arms. Above the arms there were discs composed of blue-green glass encircled by two rows of gold tesserae. On each side under the arms of the cross was an "M" in gold with a small diamond formed by four green glass tesserae at the foot of each leg. Below the point of each diamond a circular tessera—now missing—may have represented a pearl. The outer circumference of the medallion is delineated by one row of limestone and two of silver, enclosing a border of interlaced reversing "S" forms made up of a single row of silver tesserae and two of blue-green. At the center of each coil is a gold tessera.

The central jewelled cross (fig. 18) probably has its closest counterpart in the cross painted in the apse conch in the southeast

⁵⁷ The term bottle glass is not intended to indicate waste material from broken domestic vessels but to refer to the plain translucent glass, often of indeterminate color, used as the base upon which metal leaf was laid to make gold or silver tesserae. Trimmings from the edges of sheets of this which had not taken the metal were commonly used for outlining forms or for their color, texture, or reflective value. Cf. C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul, The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 8 note 12.

chamber of Basilica A at Rusafa (figs. 22, 23) (sixth century).⁵⁸ This cross is very similar in composition to that at Kartmin, including the rinceaux that mount on both sides of the conch. The tendrils at Rusafa, however, are feathery and recall the scrolls on the exterior cornice of Dēr al-Za'farān (fig. 24).

The west and east crosses (figs. 19–21), as well as the fourth smaller cross incorporated into the north side of the star border, appear to be stepped. The prototype of the stepped cross, utilized by the Iconoclasts and prevalent in later Byzantine coinage, has been credited by some scholars to Tiberius II (578–602) and by others to a cross erected on Golgotha by Theodosius II (408–450).⁵⁹ The former attribution would set a *terminus post quem* too late to permit a 512 date for the Kartmin mosaics. It would be too late also for the intarsia cross set into the west wall of the nave of St. Sophia, Istanbul, which is considered part of the Justinianic decoration,⁶⁰ and which stands on a trapezoidal base that resembles a flight of stairs. Leroy has published a cross on two steps from a Syriac manuscript, in Leningrad, produced in Mesopotamia and dated 462.⁶¹

Discs like those filling the upper quadrants of the west and east crosses are found with crosses in Syria at least as early as the fourth century—at Deir Seita, where the cross has four discs.⁶² The quadrants of the crosses in this area are often filled with discs, leaves, "pendilia," or letters—compositions ascribed by Leroy to a *horror vacui*⁶³ rather

⁵⁸ J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), fig. 109, a line drawing of the cross which differs in some particulars from what is visible in the photographs reproduced here.

⁵⁹ P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II, pt. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1968), 95 ff.

⁶⁰ P. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1957–1959," *DOP*, 14 (1960), fig. 3.

⁶¹ Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, I, p. 113, II, pls. 2–4. Another fifth-century example may be that of a cross on three steps in a niche of an altar in the basilica at Alahan. M. Gough, "The Church of the Evangelists at Alahan," *Anatolian Studies*, 12 (1962), pl. xxx a.

⁶² Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques* I, 120.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 121.

than to symbolic significance, except, of course, in the occurrence of letters.

The tendrils in the lower quadrants of the west cross (fig. 19) are usually thought to signify the "Tree of Life" and are found on a lintel as early as *ca.* 400 (S. Salvatore, Spoleto).⁶⁴ Kartmin may offer the earliest dated combination of the stepped cross with leaves, a type which, later, is found in widely dispersed localities.

Aside from the possibility that the "M" shapes pendent from the eastern cross are the initial letters of words, they could be merely decorative, as are the "pendilia" of the sixth-century Moses cross at Mt. Sinai and the sixth-century intarsia cross in St. Sophia, mentioned above. Broader discussion of the origin or symbolic significance of the crosses will not be attempted here. However, we would like to consider the mosaic crosses in relation to the scriptorium of the monastery.

As mentioned above, this scriptorium produced numerous manuscripts. From two that survive in Paris (Syr. 30 and Syr. 41), Leroy has published folios decorated with crosses.⁶⁵ Both manuscripts were signed by the illuminator and scribe Šim'un (*ca.* 1190) of the Kartmin monastery, whose characteristic painting technique is the imitation of mosaic cubes. This handling of color can be seen in the medallion encircling one cross (fig. 25), in the chevron pattern on the faces of two stepped crosses (figs. 26, 27), and on the borders of two portraits.⁶⁶ Leroy regards the medallion around the cross in Syr. 30 as unusual, since a circular format was less frequently used than a rectangular one in Syriac manuscripts. Considering the proximity of the three crosses in medallions and the chevron border in the Kartmin church vault, a link between the mosaic and the manuscript crosses seems entirely possible.

Several characteristics of the mosaic crosses appear in the Kartmin and other manuscripts produced in the area: the stepped cross, tendrils at the base of a cross, discs between the arms of a cross. Undoubt-

edly, there could have been other models than the crosses in the vault at Kartmin for these designs. However, as the influential scriptorium of the monastery revived and reintroduced the Estranghelo script into the entire Țūr 'Abdīn, it may well have disseminated pictorial forms as well.

Border Patterns

Finally, a word concerning the border patterns. The medallion enclosing the central cross is filled with a lotus design that is a staple of pavement schemes in Palestine, Lebanon, and Antioch.⁶⁷ The fans encircling the western cross are found in a similar design as early as the mid-fifth century at Khalde, Lebanon,⁶⁸ and again in the Rabbula Gospels, framing the letter from Eusebius to Carpianus.⁶⁹ The guilloche border of the eastern cross is too prevalent to require examples, contemporary or earlier, and its more complicated counterpart in the interlace of Syriac manuscripts is likewise standard.

Three bands (total width 82 cm.) of design surround the vault. The innermost (width 18 cm.), consisting of a wavy chevron pattern (fig. 9), proceeds as a series of darts radiating outward from beneath crosses in the medallions at the center of the east and west sides, and downward from the apices of the lunettes. Darts of silver, light brown, pink marble and red glass, white, gold, green, white, silver, and light brown were observed, in that sequence, in the northeast corner. Elsewhere there may be differences both in colors and in the sequence in which they are employed.

The second band is wider (width 47 cm.) and made up of large eight-pointed stars (figs. 28–30). In the band along the lower edge of the vault the second star from the southeast corner (fig. 30) was partly cleaned and the following details were noted. The form of the stars is basically a square with sharp points protruding from the center of each side. They are outlined with a double row of

⁶⁴ J. Flemming, "Kreuz und Pflanzenornament," *Byzantinoslavica*, 30 (1969), 91.

⁶⁵ Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, II, pls. 2–3, 4–1, 7–2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, pl. 56.

⁶⁷ Levi, *op. cit.*, 453ff., discusses this lotus motif in relation to the evolution of the twisted ribbon.

⁶⁸ M. Chéhab, "Mosaïques du Liban," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 15 (1959), pl. LXXVI.

⁶⁹ Cecchelli, Furlani, Salmi, *op. cit.*, fol. 3a.

gold and filled with green glass tesserae. Light green is used in the right-hand and bottom points, but blue-green in the top and left-hand points. In each point is a round dot made up of nine gold tesserae, except for that at the top which is a single round gold tessera, and for that in the upper right point which is a larger silver tessera. In the center of the star two rows of gold form a circle within which a vertical ivy leaf, or spade, is outlined with bottle glass. The left half of the leaf is of blue and dark green tesserae; the right half and stem are of light green. The space around the leaf is filled with pink marble and other tesserae which were dipped in red paint. Around the gold borders of the stars are two rows of pink and white marble from which short, spike-like rows of silver tesserae radiate toward the light-colored glass filling the spaces between the stars.

Replacing the ivy leaf in the center star above the north lunette is a stepped cross of green, gold, and white, in the center of which silver tesserae form a smaller cross. Above the south lunette the ivy leaf of the center star points toward the crown of the vault.

The outermost band (width 17 cm.) is a series of green diamonds contained in two rows of gold separated by interlaced rows of silver, making a small diamond and two halves which appear to be of pink marble or limestone dipped in red paint. The remainder of the border is filled with white limestone tesserae.

Of the triple border that encloses the vault, the central band (figs. 28–30) is of greatest interest. The same motif—an eight-pointed star (sometimes enclosed by a circle) containing a single upright spade—forms the border of the arches of the octagonal arcade in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.⁷⁰ As this exact motif does not seem to have survived elsewhere, the late date of 691 for the Jerusalem mosaics might, as suggested by H. Stern,⁷¹ prompt a reconsideration of

⁷⁰ M. van Bercham, "The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque in Damascus," in R. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd ed., I (Oxford, 1969), 292f. and pls. 6, 8, 9.

⁷¹ H. Stern's review of A. Grabar and J. Hubert, *Cahiers archéologiques*, VIII (1956), in *Syria*, 34, fascs. 3, 4 (1957), 386.

512 for those of Kartmin. However, in St. Sophia, Istanbul, the eight-pointed star forms part of the original sixth-century decoration and occurs in two variants. As a small motif it is found in a location similar to that in Jerusalem—along the borders of the gallery arches containing the vine rinceaux mentioned above (fig. 11)—and it encloses a quatrefoil instead of a spade. As at Jerusalem, between the star motifs halves of four-lobed flowers replace the light colored glass and silver striations of the Kartmin border. In the large independent motifs on the ceiling of the narthex of St. Sophia eight spades are combined with each star, and here the spades replace the small discs that at Kartmin punctuate the points of the star (fig. 32).⁷²

An eight-pointed star containing a square forms a border motif of a mosaic panel found in another Constantinopolitan monument, Kalenderhane Camii. This fragment of the "Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple" is tentatively dated between the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the eighth.⁷³

The eight-pointed star originated at least as early as the second century A.D.⁷⁴ and was widely used. Often it contained a rosette within a circle. The placing of the spade or conventionalized ivy leaf within it would seem to have been simply a coupling of two ornamental units employed separately and sometimes in close proximity, as at the church at Ghine, Lebanon.⁷⁵ Since both elements existed in decorative repertoires prior to 512, it is entirely conceivable that the formation of this new motif occurred well before its use in Jerusalem at the end of the seventh century.

⁷² M. Ramazanoğlu has published remains of stylized ivy leaves in fresco and mosaic (fig. 31) within St. Sophia which may be of sixth-century date. "Die Baugeschichte der Sophien-Kirche Justinians," *Atti dello VIII Congresso internazionale di Studi bizantini, Palermo, 1951*, II (= *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 8 [1953]), figs. 8, 9.

⁷³ C. L. Striker and D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Third and Fourth Preliminary Reports," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 256 and fig. 11.

⁷⁴ Levi, *op. cit.*, I, 391.

⁷⁵ Chéhab, *op. cit.*, pl. c 1–2 and –3.



A. South Lunette, General View (see also fig. 33)



B. North Lunette, Ciborium, Left-hand Capitals
(see also fig. 45)

Kartmin

An early example of the inner border of chevrons, surrounding an inscription of about 387 (now at Dumbarton Oaks), was discovered at Antioch in the Kausiye Church,⁷⁶ which contains other pavements with related zigzag patterns. A more extensive chevron border encloses a pavement of the church at Zaharani, Lebanon (535)⁷⁷ and the pattern recurs on columns and borders of the Rabbula Gospels.⁷⁸

THE LUNETTES

The lunettes are more or less semicircular with bases about four meters wide and a height of just over two meters. Both lunettes contain what is basically the same composition: in the center of each stands a ciborium whose dome rests on four columns with Corinthian capitals. From each side of the ciborium, at the base of the dome, springs an arched arm from which is suspended a bowl lamp. Much of the mosaic of the north lunette is missing, but under the ciborium on the south is an altar supporting three vessels. The settings of the ciboria combine a gold background or sky with a landscape of low, hilly ground covered with stylized plants. Two trees flank each ciborium.

South Lunette

The gold tesserae of the background of the south lunette are angled (figs. A and 33, 34). The ciborium has a fluted dome of silver shaded with blue; its finial is a small globe with a pear-shaped point above in silver. The dome is depicted in perspective so that the inner surface of the base at the back is seen graduated downward from blue to white.

The two front columns were initially light in color, with lighter Corinthian capitals, while the rear columns, are dark with light capitals. Doubtless the coloring in each case is intended to suggest a source of illumination emitted from the altar. The tesserae of the columns are laid in vertical rows. The front column on the left (fig. 36) is outlined with bottle glass and has two rows of red glass along its left side and two rows of silver

along its right side, between which are five rows of matt marble or limestone tesserae, which were originally dipped in red paint but are now mainly white or occasionally pink. The front column on the right (fig. 37) has a double row of silver tesserae on the left side and a double row of red on the right, with six rows of limestone in between. The base of the right-hand column is green and gold.

The two front capitals are gold and green with limestone in the abaci. All the capitals are drawn with bottle glass; those of the rear columns (fig. 35) are silver and limestone with the abaci gold and green. Both rear columns are gold along the inner and green along the outer side with paler glass tesserae in the centers, the left one being pale blue-grey and yellow. The right-hand base is silver and limestone.

On each side of the dome, above the front capitals, is a horn-shaped arm from the point of which, suspended by three chains, is a bowl lamp (figs. 36, 37). Both are silver at the top shaded through lighter colored glasses to blue at the bottom, and their interiors, seen at the top, are of pink and white limestone or marble.

The altar (figs. A and 33–35) is of limestone with traces of red paint. Single rows of bottle glass divide the front into jewelled panels. The top front edge, which survives on the left side, is a band of angled gold tesserae in which is set a rectangular green jewel and a diamond-shaped red jewel of limestone. Along the base and the right side of the altar is a band of light brown which contains a row of diamond-shaped jewels, alternately light green and red (limestone) separated by rectangular patches of gold.

The right-hand side of the altar is of red glass and in the lower part, which is preserved in its full width, is an ivy leaf, light green on the left and blue on the right. At the top only a small area of this side survives in the red glass next to the chalice, where the outline of another ivy leaf can be seen.

At the center of the top of the altar (fig. 35), which is blue, is a bread basket of angled gold tesserae, with bottle glass forming a grid pattern and with white limestone above. A chalice of angled silver

⁷⁶ Levi, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 114b.

⁷⁷ Chéhab, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII.

⁷⁸ Cecchelli, Furlani, Salmi, *op. cit.*, fol. 12b and, with more pronounced steps, fol. 13a.

tesserae and with a limestone interior stands on each side. The chalice on the left is intact and has a circular gold tessera at the center of its stem (height 16 cm.).

To the right of the ciborium is a large cypress tree (figs. A and 33, 34) with a vertical section of the trunk exposed in its green foliage. Between the tree and the ciborium the top of a highly stylized plant appears (fig. 38). Its half-round form, silver and gold at the top and green below, is supported on three thin branches composed of single rows of pale glass. Springing from the top is what may be supposed to be a flower with a large circular head, green on the left side and of red and pink limestone on the right, with a round setting of white at the center. On each side of the flower is a curved tendril; that on the left terminating with a circular silver tessera, which has been lost from the one on the right. Under the left side of the large stylized plant is a rounded section of what must be another plant, and below the right side a group of red and white limestone tesserae doubtless formed the top of a trefoil flower similar to that described below. The rest of the lower part of this side has been lost.

A rolling landscape in olive-green glass extends along the base of the left side of the lunette, and on its left hillock is a plant with three globular flowers (fig. 39), green at their bases and red glass and limestone at their tops. Next to this grow a mushroom-shaped green shrub and another flower which is green at the base and limestone at the top with a trefoil outline in red glass. All the flowers are encircled with gold at their centers. Between these and the ciborium is a large cypress tree (figs. A and 33, 34) which appears to have had a second trunk extending over the trefoil flower, but the remainder of this has been lost. The upper part of the tree is intact.

Below the olive-green hillocks a band, about 10 cm. high, of which a length of about 60 cm. remains (fig. 39), bears an inscription of letters seven to eight cm. high, drawn in single rows of what appears to be a light-colored stone on a brown ground composed of gold tesserae set face downward (see *infra*, p. 296). The letters were originally red.

North Lunette

The entire mosaic at the top of the north lunette (figs. 40, 41) is in a precarious condition. The background is of angled gold tesserae. On the left side at the base of the lunette (fig. 42) only a tiny area of the inscription survives (13 cm. long by 4 cm. high). The materials used here were the same as those found in the inscription of the south lunette on the opposite side. Only fragments of eight limestone tesserae remain. These probably formed the upper parts of a cross and a letter with a rounded top.

Above this fragmentary inscription there are two hillocks (fig. 42) similar to those on the left side of the south lunette. A plant of two branches with spade-shaped green leaves (fig. 44) grows from the top of the left hillock. From the ground between the hillocks springs a large fruit tree with three trunks, those on each side having been lopped. The fruits are of pink marble tesserae, with highlights indicated in lighter tones. The foliage is of green, blue, and yellow glass. At the upper right-hand side of the lunette is the top of a palm tree (fig. 46).

Of the ciborium there survive: the dome (fig. 43) with the arched arms bearing the lamps at its sides, the two capitals at the left side and the upper parts of their columns (figs. B and 45), and the front capital on the right. The dome has a fan pattern which may represent tiles in the shape of scallop shells. Outlined in gold, the tiles are of light olive-green around the circumference. At the center of each a silver tessera set as a diamond is surrounded by light tesserae above and olive-brown, clear glass below, an arrangement which suggests a slightly convex projection. The inner surface of the dome is of light olive-green with pale green at the base of the back, while the circular finial at the top is of silver tesserae. The horn-shaped, arched arms at the sides are incomplete; that on the right is blue, that on the left a lighter blue. On the left, part of the lamp bowl, with the chains from which it suspends, remains.

The columns and capitals are defined in bottle glass. The outer, or front, capitals are similar (fig. 43), their three leaves being of green, yellow, and blue tesserae, outlined in gold. The space between the leaves is

filled with mixed pink and white limestone tesserae and, at the center, with four gold tesserae set as diamonds. In the right-hand side of the top of the front capital on the left a large triangular piece (3 cm. × 1.5 cm.) of white ceramic is used as a tessera. Its face is blue, black, and white and has a clear glaze, and its top edge is straight; it may possibly be a fragment of a small tile.⁷⁹ The abaci are white on the outer sides and silver on the inner, while the necking of the left-hand column is green on the outer side and gold on the inner.

The capital of the rear column (figs. B and 45) has limestone leaves outlined with silver between which gold diamond-shaped tesserae are surrounded by bottle glass. Its abacus is green on the outer side and yellow and gold on the inner, while the necking below is white on the outer side, pink at the center, and silver on the inner side.

As is true of the columns in the south lunette, the tesserae in the front column (figs. B and 45) here on the left are laid in vertical rows—silver on the inner side, blue on the outer, and light glass at the center. The rear column is set in horizontal zigzag rows of color: the top two rows in green with gold and yellow and, in sequence downward, the remaining rows in silver, limestone, red glass, silver, pale blue, blue-green, silver, and pink.

With the exception of the color arrangements of the shaft of the rear column, all of the features described above suggest, as has been proposed for the south side, a source of illumination at the center of the composition.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION OF THE SANCTUARY

It has already been mentioned above that part of the description of the sanctuary contained in the London and Berlin manuscripts bears a notable resemblance to the content of these lunette mosaics. This description has been previously translated into French and German (see *supra*, note 21).

⁷⁹ The use of ceramic fragments in mosaic is quite unusual, a late instance being in the Kariye Camii. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I, Bollingen Series LXX (New York, 1966), 85, 180.

The Rev. David Johnson, S. J. has kindly provided the following English translation from the London manuscript.⁸⁰

And these are its [the church's] dimensions: the length, 37 cubits; the breadth, 25; the height, 25.⁸¹ The breadth of its walls was 7 cubits. Within the church towards the east, three rooms were built, and the middle room was the holy of holies and its *thronos*⁸² was of marble stone. Its length is six spans and a half, and its width, four spans and a half. It has four faces on which are inscribed images: the face of a lion, of a bull, of an eagle, and of a man. And upon the stone is a precious regal vessel, and a crown [wreath] forged from silver encircles it, on which are 300 seals upon which is depicted the Divine dispensation.⁸³ Above the *thronos* are a cherub and a ciborium of brass which is held up and mounted upon four columns. In the sanctuary is a hanging lamp of refined gold and suspending it is a chain of silver. And the floor of the sanctuary is paved with seals⁸⁴ of marble, white, black, blood red [dark red], green [yellowish], Tyrian purple, and wine-coloured [between yellow and red], in diverse patterns. And the walls are overlayed with tablets of marble, and on its ceiling are mosaics of gilded cubes. Also in the nave on the two sides of the door of the sanctuary, two brass trees are fixed, each twenty cubits high. On the foliage of the trees are places for lamps which swing to and fro, 180 in each tree. Fifty chains of silver are set up from ceiling to floor on which are suspended brass objects such as red eggs, large bowls [craters], animals, birds, crosses, wreaths [crowns], grape vines, carved objects and discs,⁸⁵ some of them made of gold, some of silver, and some of brass. Of these things, no one is able to know the value and the computation of their weight.

⁸⁰ Nau, "Notice," 65f.

⁸¹ Cf. Pognon, *op. cit.*, 40 note 1.

⁸² This may be rendered as either "altar" or "throne."

⁸³ I.e., the earthly life of Christ.

⁸⁴ I.e., mosaics. Cf. Pognon, *op. cit.*, 40 note 5.

⁸⁵ I.e., something round or circular.

The description of the pavement, walls, and vault corresponds to the evidence that remains in the sanctuary. Aside from "yellowish-green," the colors said to compose the pavement are fairly accurate. Father Johnson points out that, of the two different Syriac words used for the mosaics of vault and pavement, the one referring to the pavement, namely "seals," can connote a cross shape. Much of the pavement is composed of squares or octagons that are subdivided into four smaller squares by a cross of a contrasting color (figs. 47–49).⁸⁶ The area surrounding the central spiraled disc consists of a series of cross designs forming a grid filled with diagonal cross patterns (fig. 47). As mentioned above, the bare walls could have been revetted with marble. The vault is covered with "gilded cubes."

The remainder of the description presents certain problems. There are notable similarities between the description in the text of an altar, its ciborium, the placement of two trees by the door of the sanctuary, and the composition of the mosaics on the lunettes. The omission of these mosaics by the author, who mentions only those of the vault, can hardly be dismissed as an oversight. Surely, if the author was a resident of the monastery, he must have entered the sanctuary many times when it was lit for services, and the fact that his monastery possessed decorations which may well have been unique among the churches of the ʿĠūr ʿAbdīn would have aroused the curiosity of a chronicler who carefully listed all the colors of the pavement.

The thirteenth-century London manuscript is thought to be based on an eighth-century account (see *supra*, note 33). Between 512 and the eighth century the monastery was invaded at least twice. Although, according to the manuscript, the church was spared during the invasion of the monastery by troops dispatched by the Patriarch Ephraim of Antioch around 530,⁸⁷ it may

have suffered extensive damage in 580 when the Persians engaged in considerable burning and pillaging while encamped for two weeks within the monastery.⁸⁸ Quite likely during this attack the original altar and other contents of the sanctuary were destroyed. Certainly brass trees "twenty cubits high"—had they, indeed, existed in 512—would not have survived, contrary to what Grabar must have presumed in his discussion of their origin, function, and decoration.⁸⁹

As suggested above, it is possible that the eighth-century author obtained his few facts concerning the decoration of the sanctuary from a Syriac inscription on the north wall. Perhaps the content of the lunette mosaics inspired him to amplify his account with a verbal reconstruction of what he considered to have been the original altar and other furnishings of the sanctuary. The capitals, columns, and altar of the mosaics might explain the author's inclusion of "sculptors of marble"⁹⁰ among those sent by Anastasius, since, as noted above, the church is actually devoid of sculpture.

As in the case of the trees, the gold, silver, and brass objects hanging from chains may also have derived from the mosaics which contain a large amount of gold and silver tesserae. The use of these metallic cubes is not confined to the crosses, amphorae, altar, etc., but extends to the plants, producing a "gilded lily" effect. The upper half of the shrub in the south lunette is gold and silver, the flowers are banded with gold, and a silver disc remains on one tendril. A profusion of such colors might suggest metallic ornaments. The pink fruit on the tree of the north lunette may have resembled "red eggs" just as the bowl lamps could have suggested "large bowls [craters]." The "crosses, wreaths,⁹¹ and grape vines" can all be found on the vault. The "animals" and "birds" may have been based on figures now missing from the mosaics, or perhaps from the ox, lion, and eagle which the author places on the *thronos*.

The altar or "*thronos*" of the text was inscribed with images of the Beasts of the

⁸⁶ A similar handling of *opus sectile* can be seen in the sixth-century pavement of a church at Apamea. J. Napoleone-Lemaire and J. Balty, *L'Eglise à Atrium de la Grande Colonnade* (Brussels, 1969), pls. xxvi–2, xxvii.

⁸⁷ The monks returned around 550 from twenty years' exile to find the church guarded by two lions. Nau, "Notice," 23.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 6, 24.

⁸⁹ Grabar, "Quelques observations," 83 ff.

⁹⁰ Leroy, "Le décor de l'église," 77.

⁹¹ Perhaps the borders of the three medallions.

Evangelists. As most of the altar on the south lunette is missing, it is possible to conjecture that its panels originally contained such images: possibly two to each exposed side, or all arranged on the front, considering the traces of two ivy leaves on the right panel. A second altar may have stood under the ciborium on the north lunette, in which case the Evangelists' symbols were perhaps divided between the two lunettes. Another possibility is that the north ciborium covered a throne, since the Syriac word can be translated as either "throne" or "altar." Such a combination of altar and throne exists in the Orthodox Baptistry in Ravenna. The "cherub" may have appeared on the north lunette, either *per se* or in the form of a flabellum.

ICONOGRAPHY, STYLE, DATE

The inclusion of such elements in the lunette mosaics would not alter their aniconic nature as it survives today. The absence of animate figures from these compositions is even more striking than the absence of birds and other creatures from the vine trellis in the vault. To determine the subject matter portrayed in the lunette we shall turn to the more complete mosaic on the south (figs. A, 34). The altar set with three vessels portrays the sacrament of the Eucharist. During the early Byzantine period the walls of, or adjoining, the sanctuary were often decorated with biblical scenes related to the Eucharist. However, the liturgical altar is normally part of the Communion of the Apostles of which there survive no monumental examples either earlier than, or contemporary with, Kartmin, where the aniconic presentation of the ciborium and altar places the theme of its lunettes in the same category as that of the ring of altars and thrones in the Orthodox Baptistry at Ravenna, and of the tholoi standing before the elaborate structures of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki. A later example of such combinations of altars and architecture occurs in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

The Kartmin lunette mosaics are executed in a style very different from that of the mosaics at Ravenna, Thessaloniki, and Bethlehem. The drawing seems perfunctory.

Aside from the fluting and the imbrications on the roofs, the ciboria are rendered very simply. Unlike the three examples referred to above, and the Canon Tables and shrines of the Rabbula Gospels, at Kartmin there is no proliferation of decorative detail in the architecture; there are no carved architraves; the Corinthian capitals are reduced to three leaves and apparently lack volutes; the abaci and bases are not articulated. The arched lamp arms resemble, in their location, the large plume projections from the Canon Tables of the Rabbula Gospels, but they are shaped like horns and are as economically drawn as are the bowl lamps beneath them.

This simplification of forms in the lunettes corresponds to the stylization of vines, grapes, leaves, and amphorae on the vault. In the lunette landscape—possibly a paradisiac setting which occurs in churches of this period—this stylization of form is accompanied by an artificial use of color. Liberal use is made of gold and silver as both local color and highlights on the flowers and shrubs and for the sky. Though it is difficult to assess the style of the trees while they remain uncleaned, the plants and shrubs are clearly formalized. The flowers may derive from the plants that abound in Nilotic scenes and that are found either scattered throughout pavement borders or sometimes incorporated as single units within a grid, as in the House of Ktisis at Antioch (early sixth century).⁹² The bell-shaped Nilotic flowers offer a closer parallel to the geometric shapes of the Kartmin plants than do the flowers in the mosaic landscapes in Ravenna and Rome. Stylized flowers similar to those in the lunettes surround the Canon Tables of the Rabbula Gospels. Further, the groundlines of the Kartmin lunettes are defined by regular curves and are devoid of the little clumps of earth and rock that crop up in the landscapes of Ravenna and Rome.

Perhaps the mosaic closest to that of Kartmin in spirit, if different in style, is the Barada panel in Damascus.⁹³ Both mosaics create the impression that human figures have been deliberately eliminated from their

⁹² Levi, *op. cit.*, II, pl. LXXXV a.

⁹³ van Bercham, *op. cit.*, 339ff., pls. 54b–58b, and figs. 399–405.

natural setting. At Kartmin the mosaics, only moderately abstract, retain some of the realism that is lacking in the totally stylized mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, where the architecture has become symbolic. In effect, the men working at Kartmin installed a mosaic adapted from standard repertory from which figures were simply omitted, rather than a decoration depersonalized by thorough abstraction.

In discussing the decoration of the Kartmin sanctuary the historical context within which these mosaics were commissioned in 512 should be considered. If a statement attributed to Philoxenus of Mabbug can be considered representative of a definite policy held at the time by Monophysites, it might help to account for the aniconic nature of these mosaics. In his statement, aside from denouncing the representation of the Holy Ghost as a dove—an aversion to such a representation was often associated with both him and Severus (and may explain the absence of birds from the Kartmin mosaics)—Philoxenus categorically condemns the portrayal in corporeal form of incorporeal beings. He is said to have removed and destroyed images of angels and to have hidden those of Christ.⁹⁴

The date assigned to these mosaics, 512, is also that of the election of Severus as patriarch of Antioch. This election was preceded by difficulty, even violence, and was ascribed to the efforts of Philoxenus who “stirred up”⁹⁵ and bribed⁹⁶ the monks from the regions neighboring Antioch to active support of Severus’ cause. Possibly the largesse distributed in this campaign extended to Kartmin.

That Philoxenus enjoyed, and even now enjoys, special reverence at Kartmin is a fact deserving of notice. The London manuscript notes a visit by him to a stylite monk of the monastery whose column bent down to enable the two to embrace.⁹⁷ The text also ascribes to Philoxenus the statement that to visit this monastery seven times “with

⁹⁴ C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (New Jersey, 1972), 43f.

⁹⁵ Rev. W. A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London, 1923), 57.

⁹⁶ Charanis, *Church and State*, 47.

⁹⁷ Nau, “Notice,” 10.

faith” was as rewarding as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁹⁸ Today the monks display his bones in the crypt of the church of the Forty Martyrs, an indication, perhaps, of the persistence of the local tradition that his remains were carried to Kartmin after he was murdered in exile at Gangra in Paphlagonia.⁹⁹

These ties with the monastery are expanded in a *Mēmra*¹⁰⁰ in his honor composed in the thirteenth century by Eli of Kartmin. This author goes so far as to say that Philoxenus received his training at Kartmin. De Halleux, in his introduction to the translation, considers this last fact highly unlikely.¹⁰¹ However, he does detect in the person of Philoxenus a possible explanation of the Emperor Anastasius’ munificence toward the monastery.¹⁰² It must be admitted that there is no mention of the decoration of the church in this *Mēmra* written during the same century as the London manuscript.

A final point to be mentioned concerns the location of the monastery within or without the Byzantine Empire. The exact line of the sixth-century frontier between Persia and Byzantium remains open to question. Dillemann identifies the monastery with Banasymeon, a fortification mentioned by Procopius, and he includes the monastery within the Byzantine Empire as a southern point in his hypothetical frontier.¹⁰³ However, some of the seven villages, which, according to the Berlin manuscript, Anastasius donated to the monastery,¹⁰⁴ appear to lie south of the monastery (fig. 1).¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹⁹ Eli de Qartamin, *Mēmra sur S. Mar Philoxène de Mabbog*, trans. A. de Halleux, CSCO, 234, Scriptorum Syri, CI (Louvain, 1963), IV, VII f. De Halleux maintains that Philoxenus did not die at Gangra, but at Philippopolis in Thrace, VII.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, VII and 9.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, VI f.

¹⁰³ Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie*, 229.

¹⁰⁴ Nau, “Notice,” 24.

¹⁰⁵ Names transliterated in Krüger, *op. cit.*, 43: Kephār Šemā, Kephār Nizā’h, Kephār Hewār, Kephār ‘Alā, Kephār ‘Arāb, Kibar, and Kaphrā. Dillemann admits he was unable to consult Nau, who in “Notice” gives the names of the seven villages, while Socin, to

Whatever its identification, it is conceivable that, being so near the border, it was fortified. It stands on an eminence and in Badger's words, "externally the building looks like a fortress."¹⁰⁶ It may have been fortified for the monks' security, as was the monastery of Mt. Sinai in the sixth century. However, the monastery near Kartmin could have served simply as a military outpost under Justinian, for it may have been vacant of monks at the time. The texts claim that the monks were in exile during most of Justinian's reign.¹⁰⁷ These evacuations might also argue against the possible candidacy of Theodora as the donor of the mosaics, in spite of her Monophysite sympathies, her alleged visit to the monastery (see *supra* note 9), and her sheltering of heretical monks in the capital.¹⁰⁸

In view of the available evidence—textual, epigraphic, stylistic, and iconographic—one could tentatively conclude that the mosaics were executed in the beginning of the sixth century, possibly by craftsmen from Antioch and conceivably at the instigation of Philoxenus of Mabbug. As Leroy pointed out concerning the entire group of monuments to which this church belongs, there is a need to correlate various areas of previous study—the written sources and the illuminated manuscripts—and to initiate systematic archaeological exploration.¹⁰⁹ Undoubtedly the Kartmin mosaics reveal a new aspect not only of the culture of the "Mt. Athos of the East," but of the development of Eastern art in general.

Measurements of Walls of Sanctuary

Vault,	height at crown		5.36 m.
	above south lunette		5.05 m.
	above north lunette		5.01 m.
South Lunette,	height		3.10 m.
	width		3.95 m.
South Wall,	width of ciborium between outer sides of outer columns		1.38 m.
	height from floor to base of inscription		2.95 m.
	width from west corner to door		.58 m.
	width of door		.91 m.
	width from door to east corner		2.78 m.
	width	total	4.27 m.
North Wall,	width from west corner to door		.44 m.
	width of door		1.06 m.
	width from door to east corner		2.72 m.
	width	total	4.22 m.
West Wall,	width from north corner to door		1.85 m.
	width of door		1.87 m.
	width from door to south corner		2.04 m.
	width	total	5.76 m.
East Wall,	width from north corner to apse		.96 m.
	width of apse		3.79 m.
	width from apse to south corner		1.00 m.
	width	total	5.75 m.
Apse,	width		3.79 m.
	height		3.33 m.
	depth		1.15 m.

whom he refers, does not. Dillemann, *op. cit.*, 229 note 1.

¹⁰⁶ Badger, *The Nestorians*, I, 56.

¹⁰⁷ Nau, "Notice," 23.

¹⁰⁸ C. Mango, "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged

Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *Jahrbuch der österreichische Byzantinistik*, 21 (1972).

¹⁰⁹ Leroy, "Recherches archéologiques sur les églises du Tur 'Abdin," *CRAI* (1967), 324 ff.

A NOTE ON THE GREEK INSCRIPTION

The inscription at the base of the south tympanum reads:

† ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ἰ μουσομα...

In ἐγένετο there is the ligature NE. After μουσομα one can make out a vertical *hasta*.

The meaning is quite clear, namely, "The mosaic work was done..." The inscription, which continued along the base of both tympana, must have gone on to state the names of the patrons responsible for the decoration and may have ended with a date. It is particularly regrettable that the final portion of it should be missing.

The incorrectness of the Greek (unless one postulates some unlikely and unattested feminine form, e.g., ἡ μουσωμάτωσις) is worthy of notice, and should probably be attributed to the fact that the person who composed the inscription had but a superficial acquaintance with that language. The word μουσωμα (neuter) is, I believe, unattested, but presents no difficulty, since we have μουσίωμα (*Script. orig. Constant.*, ed. Preger, 287₈, MS B) and μουσίωσις, as well as μουσάριον (Malalas, ed. Bonn, 302₉, 360₁₃). The term μουσαρον which figures in Ducange's *Glossarium* with the explanation *ars musica*, and reappears in Lampe's *Patristic Lexicon* should, incidentally, be deleted. It is found in only one text, the *Vita Eutychii*, PG 86, col. 2333D, νεώτερος τις τὴν τοῦ μουσάρου τέχνην ἐπιστάμενος, where we should read μουσαρίου, as noted in Stephanus, s. v., unless there was such a form as μουσαρος = μουσωτής, μουσιάτωρ.

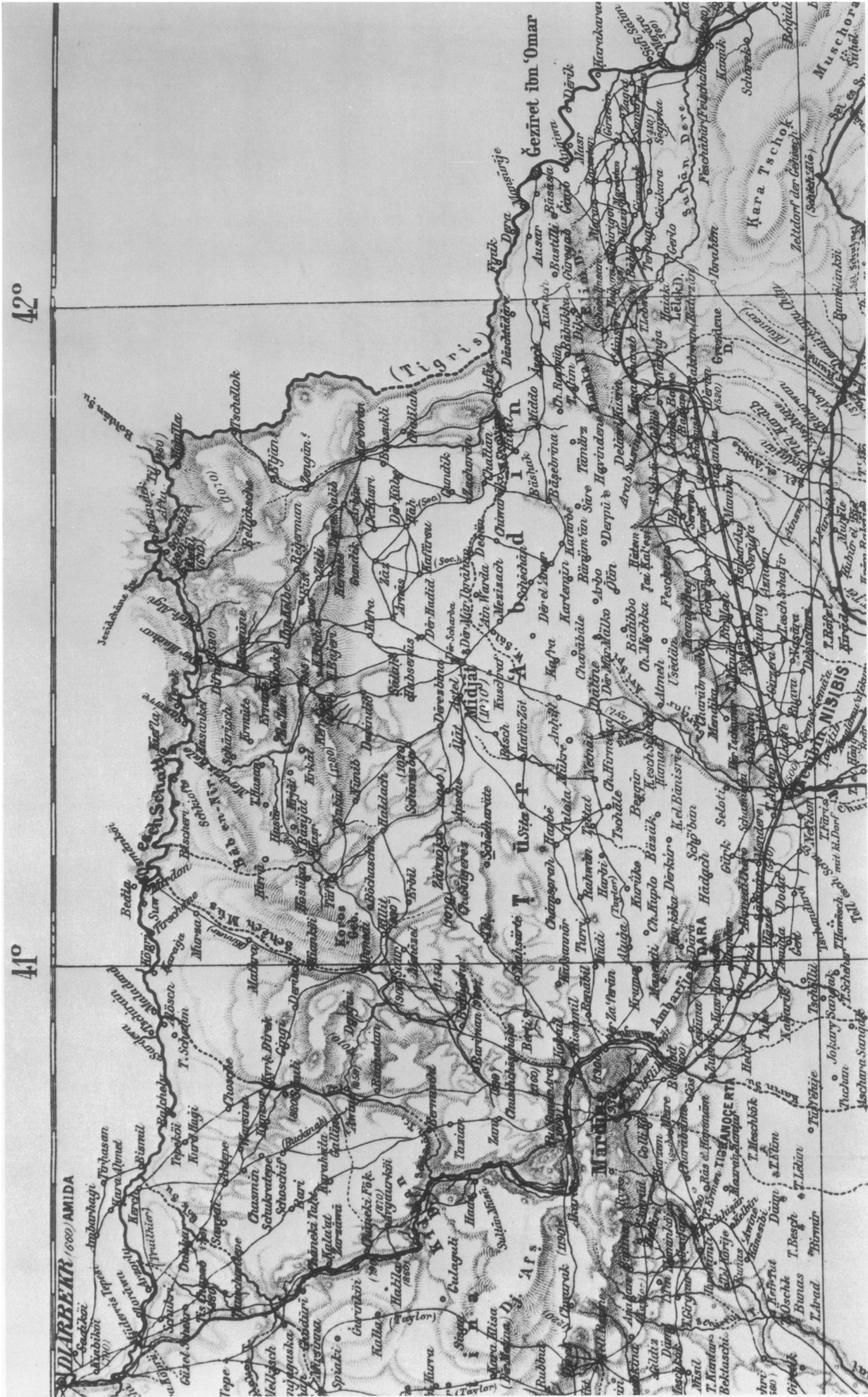
In general, a distinction was made between μουσεῖον (and cognates), meaning a wall mosaic, and ψήφωσις, meaning a pavement mosaic. In inscriptions the former term occurs rather seldom, the latter quite frequently for the obvious reason that the relevant texts are most numerous in pave-

ment mosaics. By contrast, very few dedicatory inscriptions of the Early Byzantine period have come down to us in wall mosaics, and these do not happen to contain the word μουσεῖον. Thus, in the apse of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai we have merely γέγονεν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦτο: I. Ševčenko, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery . . .," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 263, No. 7.

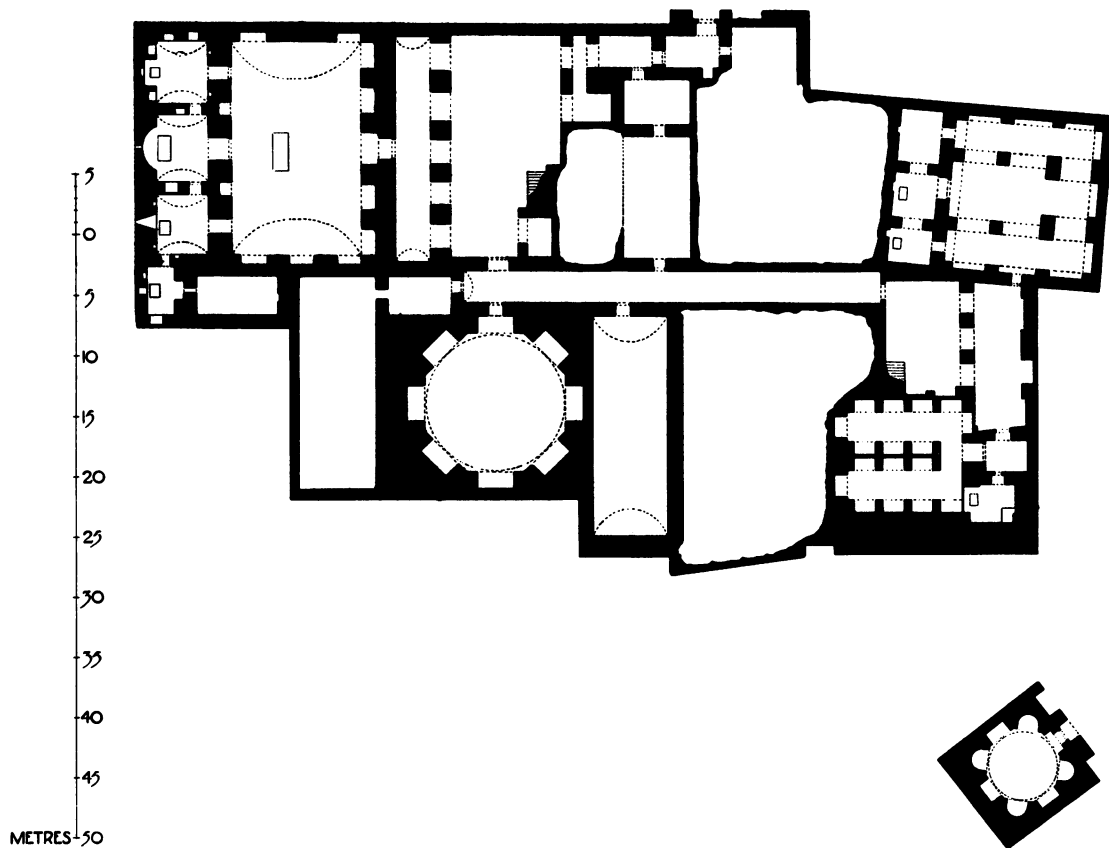
The fundamental discussion of these terms, as well as of κέντησις, is by L. Robert, "Inscriptions grecques de Sidè," *Rev. de philol.*, Ser. 3, XXXII (1958), 48–49. See also H. Stern, "Origine et débuts de la mosaïque murale," *Etudes d'Archéologie Classique*, II (1959), 109; J. Svennung, *Compositiones Lucenses. Studien zum Inhalt, zur Textkritik und Sprache* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1941), 183–84 (based largely on lexicography). To the examples collected by the authors cited above we may add a very interesting one in a fifth-century mosaic pavement at Thebes which was kindly brought to our attention by Dr. Marie Spiro: Δημήτριος Ἐπιφάνης τε τὸ μουσεῖον ποιεῖ, etc.: P. Lazaridis, Ἀρχαιολ. Δελτίον, XX, pt. 2/2 (1965), 254 and pl. 313b. This is a rare example of μουσεῖον being used for a pavement mosaic; another being the lost inscription of the synagogue of Aegina (ἔμουσώθη): *IG* IV, 190; Frey, *CI Iud.*, I, 723.

The lettering of our inscription is entirely appropriate to the sixth century. Indeed, one would hardly expect a Greek inscription to have been set up in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at a later period. By way of comparison, we may note that in vols. I–IV of Jalabert and Mousterde's *Corpus*, which cover northern Syria, the latest Greek inscription (No. 563) discounting a few of the eleventh century, is dated A.D. 609/10.

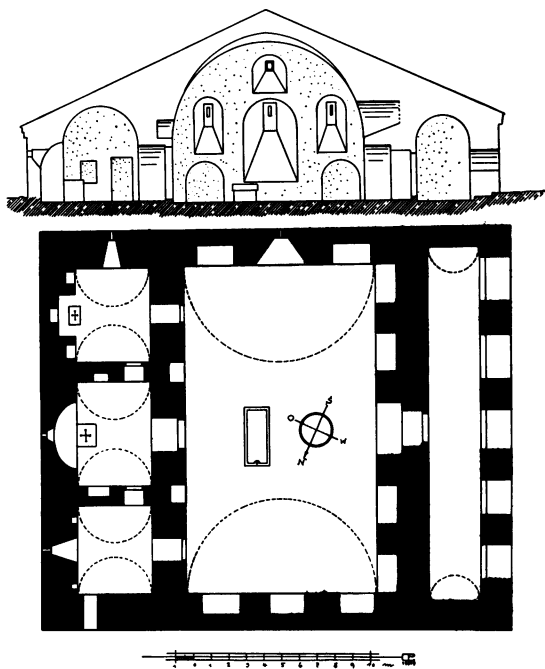
Cyril Mango



1. Map of Tūr 'Abdīn and Surrounding Area



2. Plan of Monastery



3. Plan of Principal Church

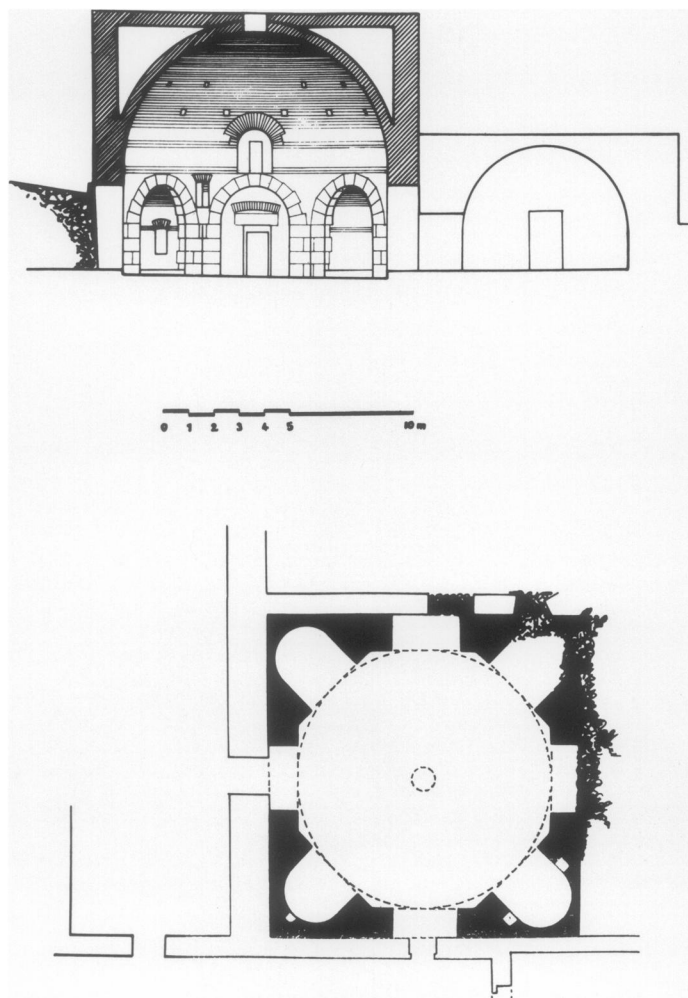


4. Principal Church from Southeast, Exterior

Kartmin



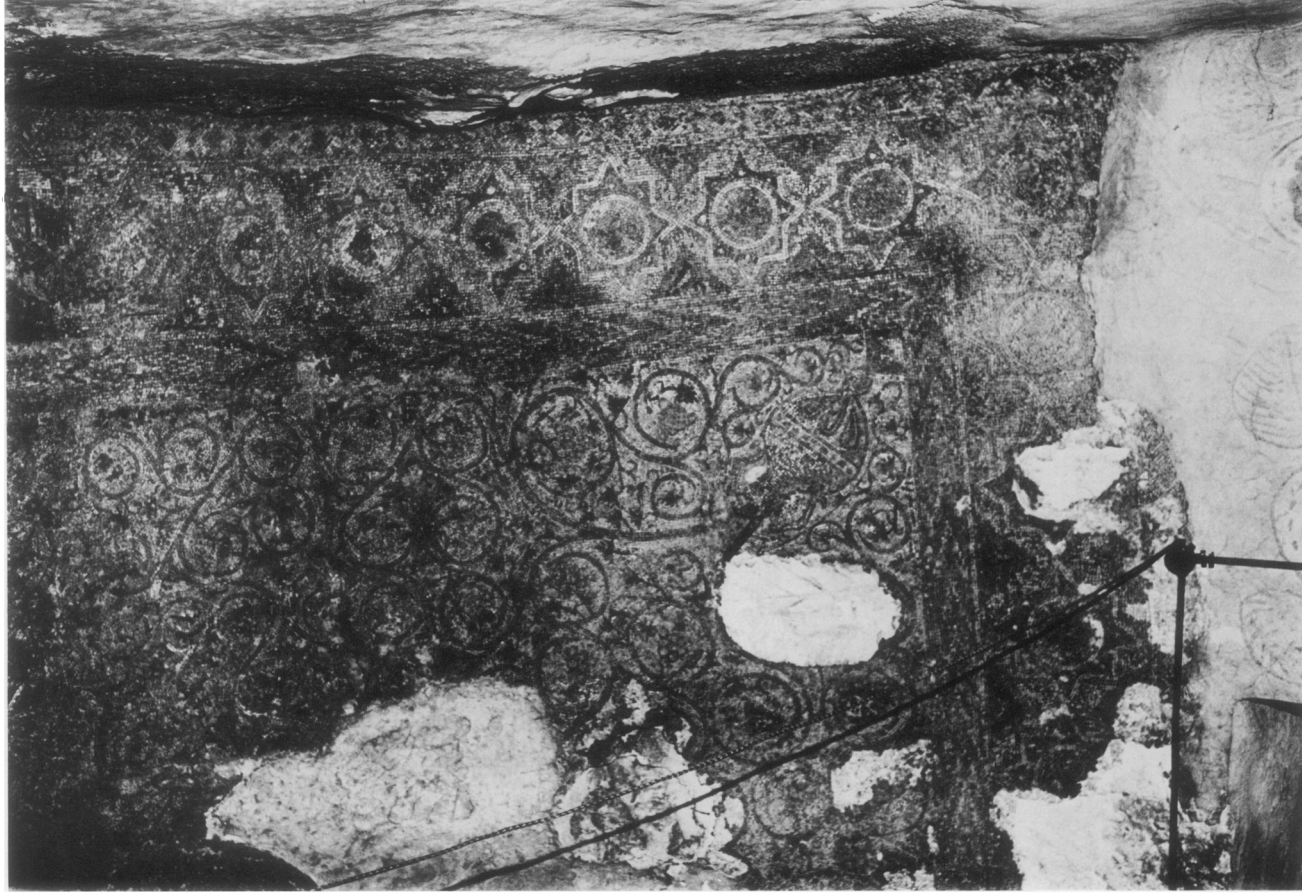
5. Octagon Northwest of Principal Church, Interior, looking Southeast



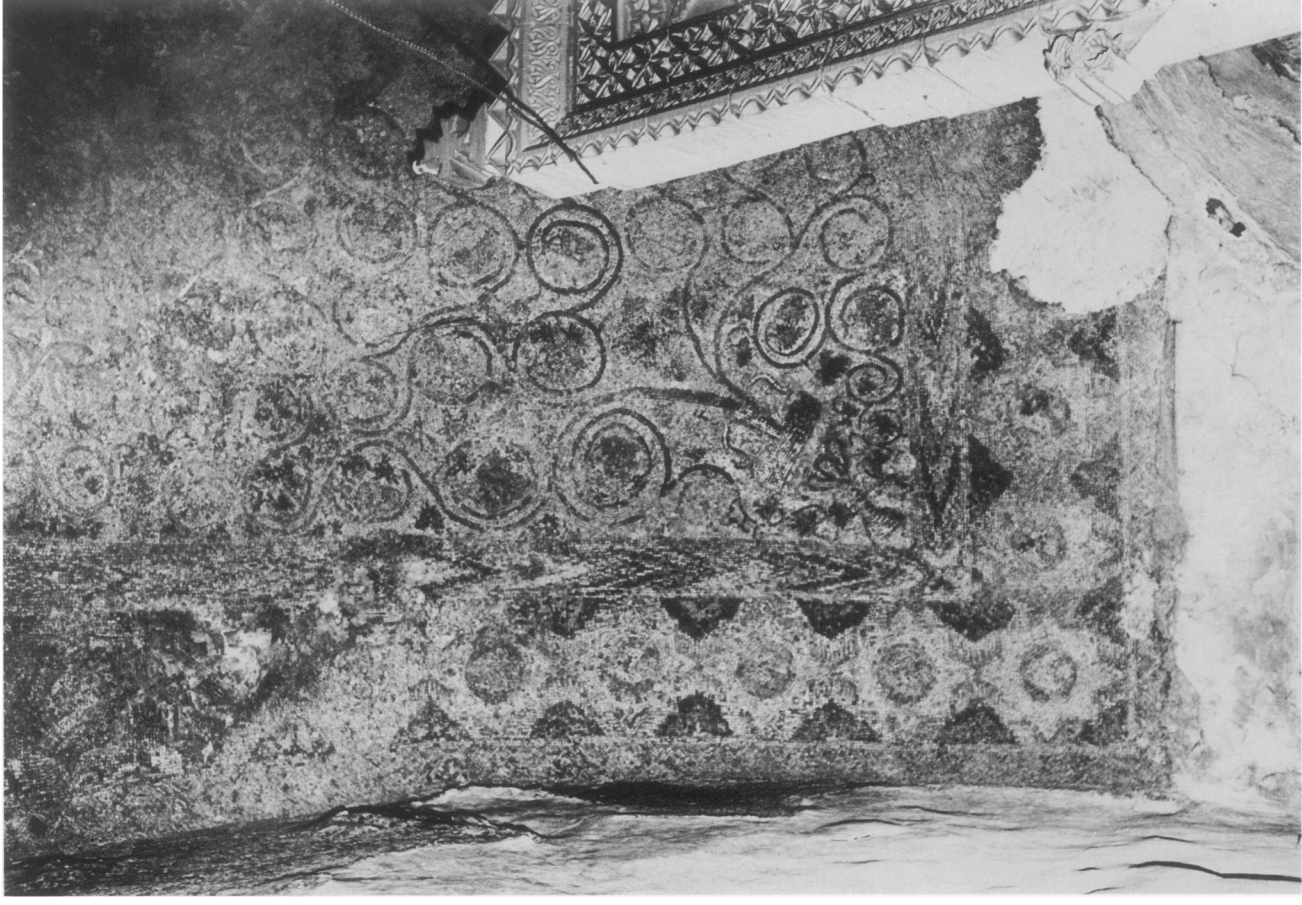
6. Plan of Octagon
Kartmin



7. Kartmin, Sanctuary Vault, General View, looking South



8. Northwest Corner, General View



9. Northeast Corner, General View

Kartmin, Sanctuary Vault



10. Kartmin, Sanctuary Vault, Northeast Corner. Scroll, Detail



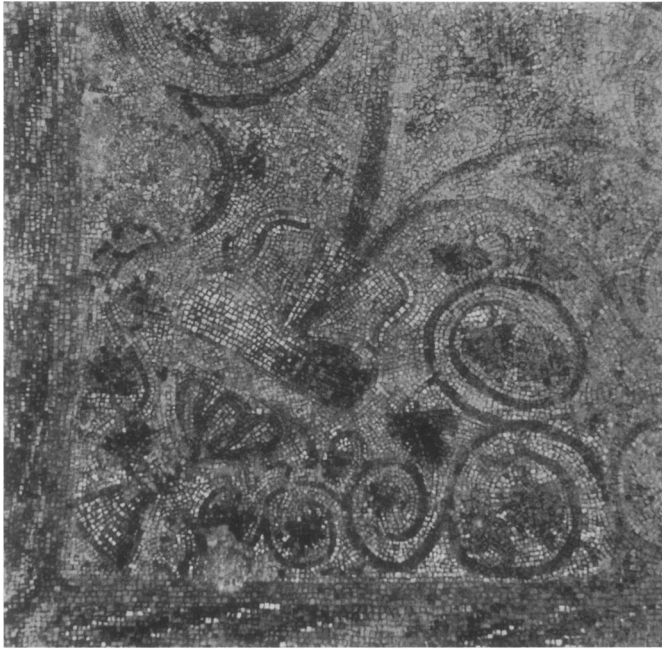
11. Istanbul, St. Sophia, Arch Soffit with Rinceaux



12. Rusafa, Tetraconch Church, Prothesis, Archivolt, South Side



13. Dēr al-Za'farān, Exterior, Niche South of West Entrance



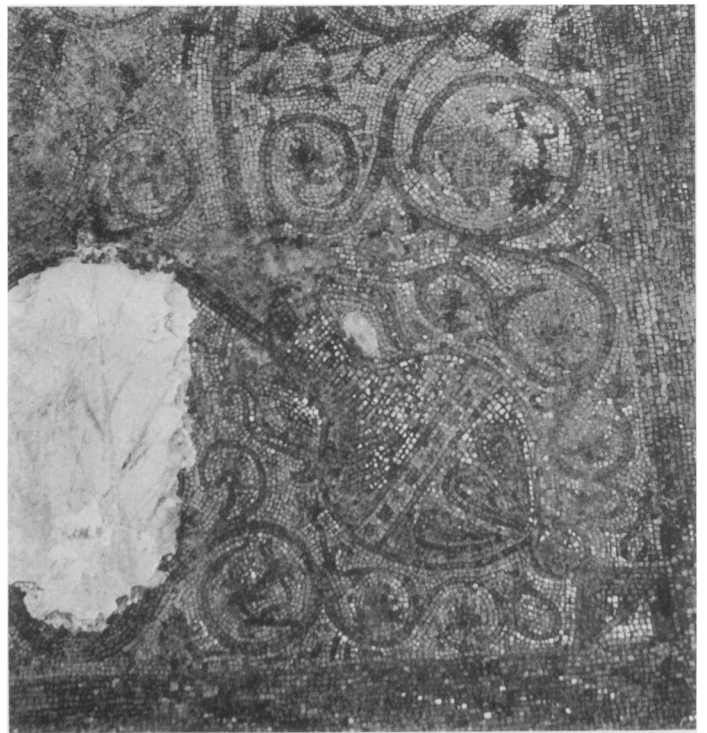
14. Northeast Amphora



15. Southeast Amphora

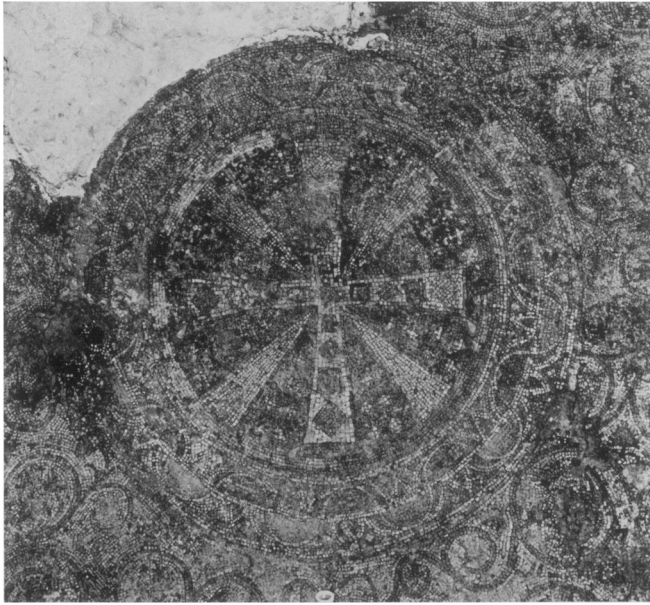


16. Southwest Amphora



17. Northwest Amphora

Kartmin, Vault



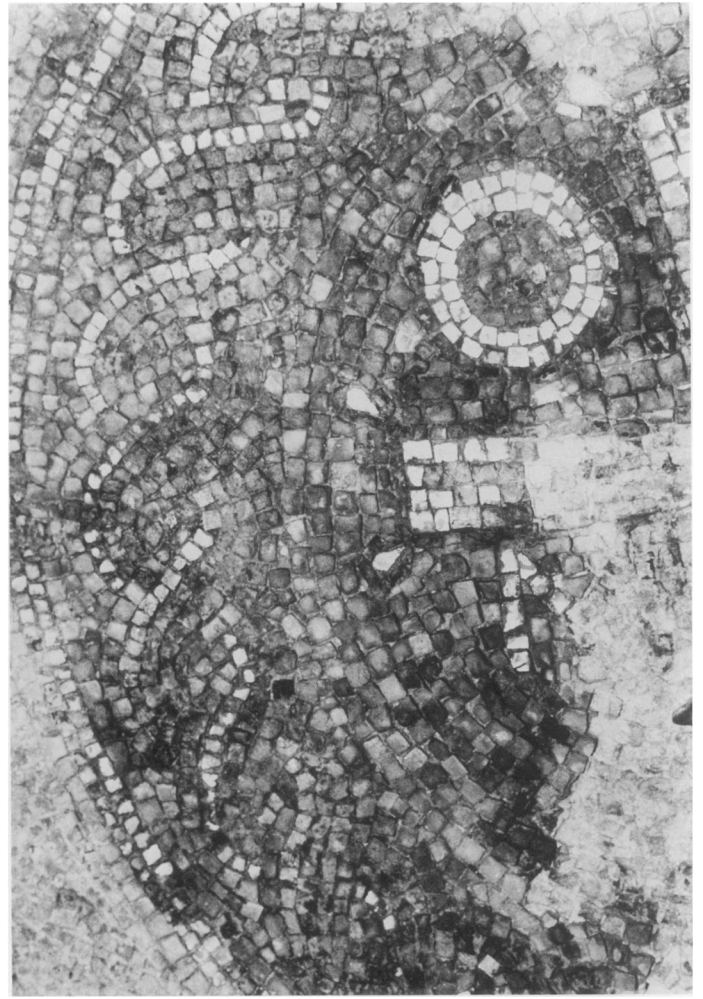
18. Central Cross



19. West Cross



20. East Cross, General View showing Herringbone
Scratches of Intermediate Rendering for Mosaic



21. East Cross, Left Side, Detail



22.

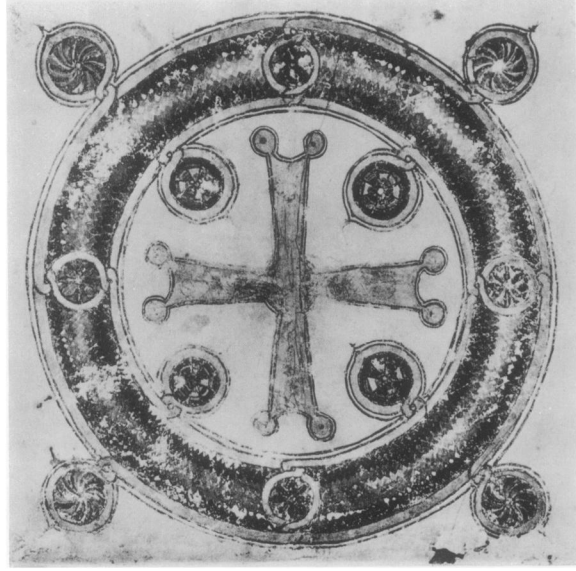


23. Right Side, Detail

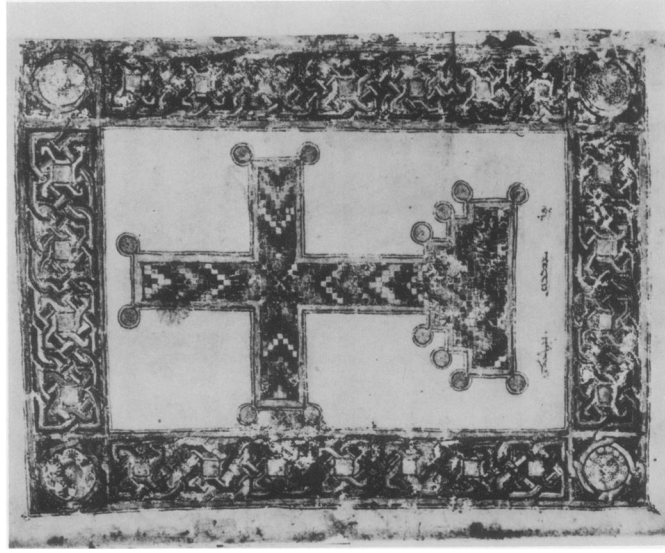
Rusafa, Basilica A, Southeast Chamber, Apse Conch



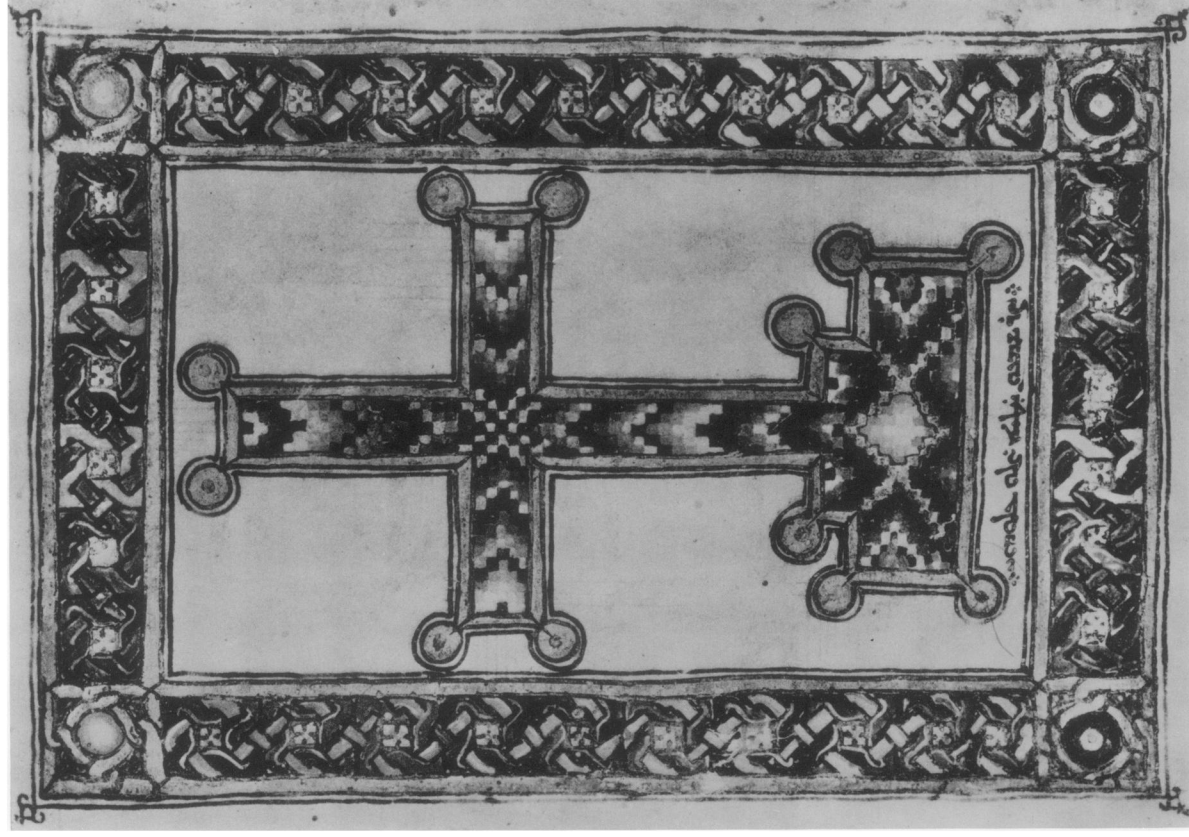
24. Dēr al-Za'farān, Exterior, South Wall, Cornice in Center of Wall, Detail



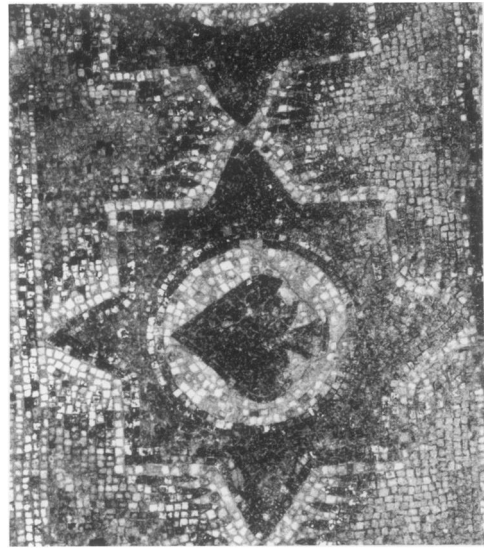
25. Syr. 30, fol. 245



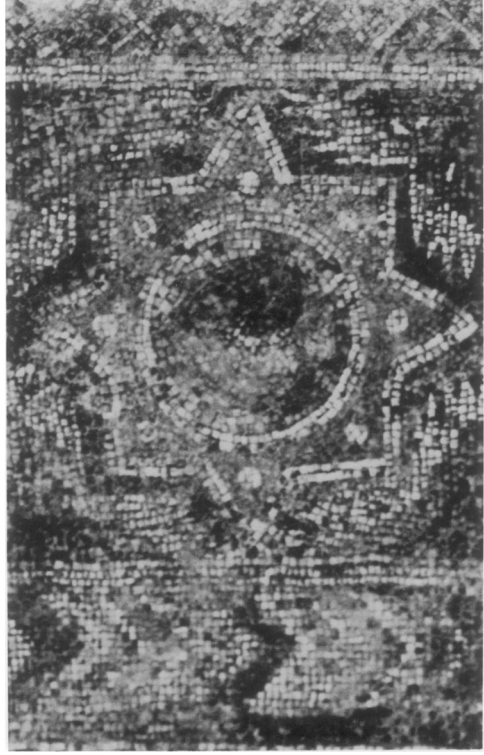
26. Syr. 30, fol. 62



27. Syr. 41, fol. 10^v



28. Southwest Corner. Star in Horizontal Band



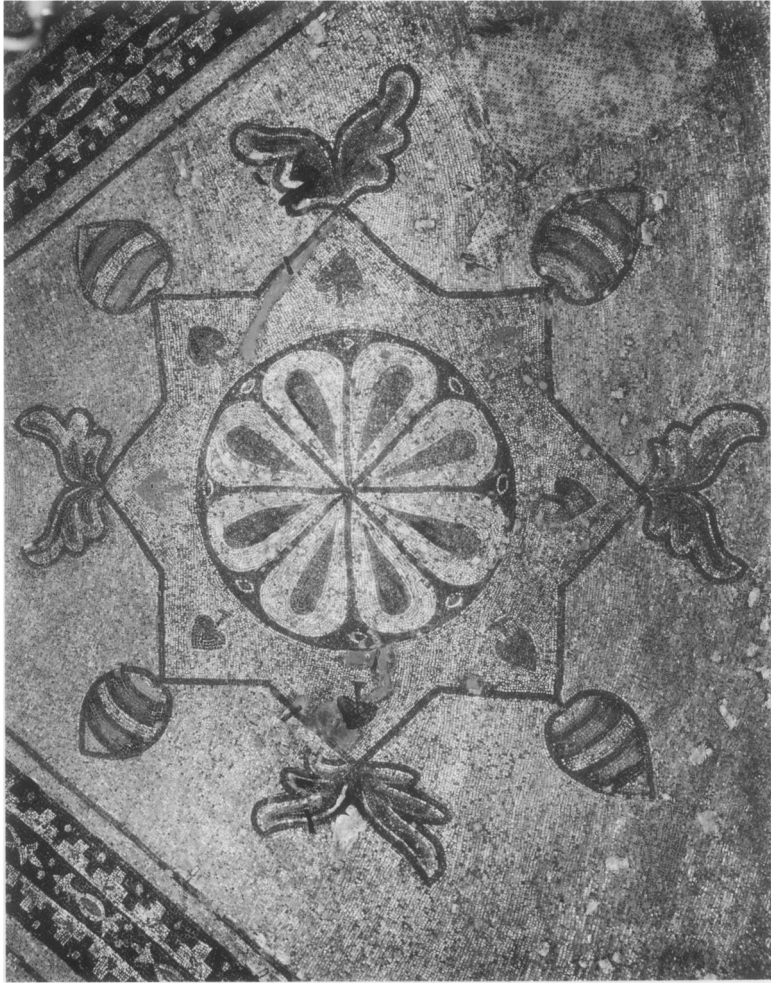
29. Southeast Corner. Star in Vertical Band
Kartmin, Star Border



30. Southeast Corner. Star in Horizontal Band,
Cleaned



31. Southwest Buttress, Intermediate Level between Gallery
and Ground Floor, South Wall, Window Reveal



32. Narthex, Third Bay from North, Vault, East Quadrant



33. Kartmin, South Lunette, General View photographed to show Angled Cubes of Background
(see also color fig. A)



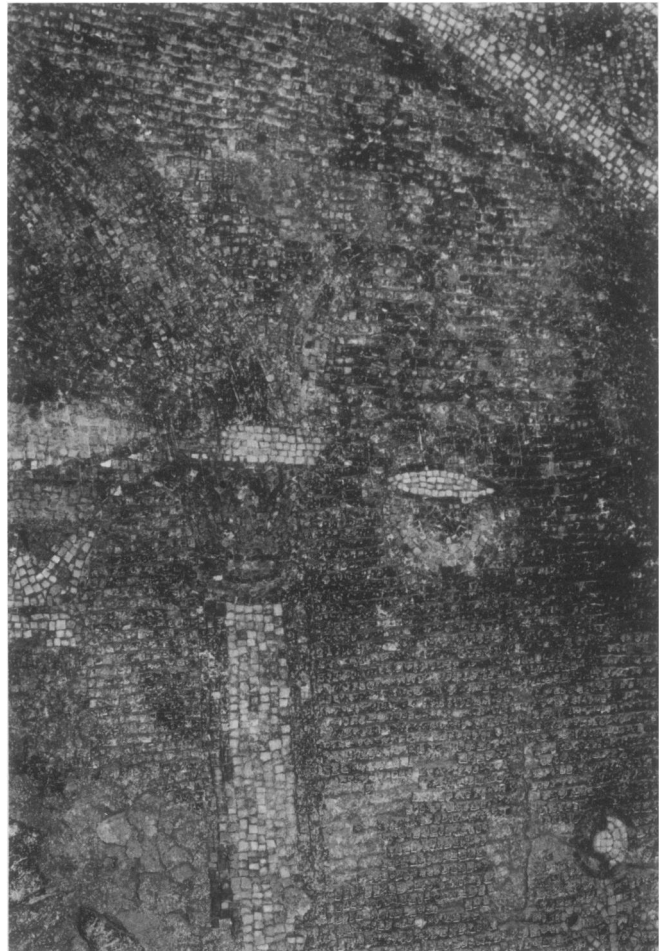
34. Kartmin, South Lunette, General View



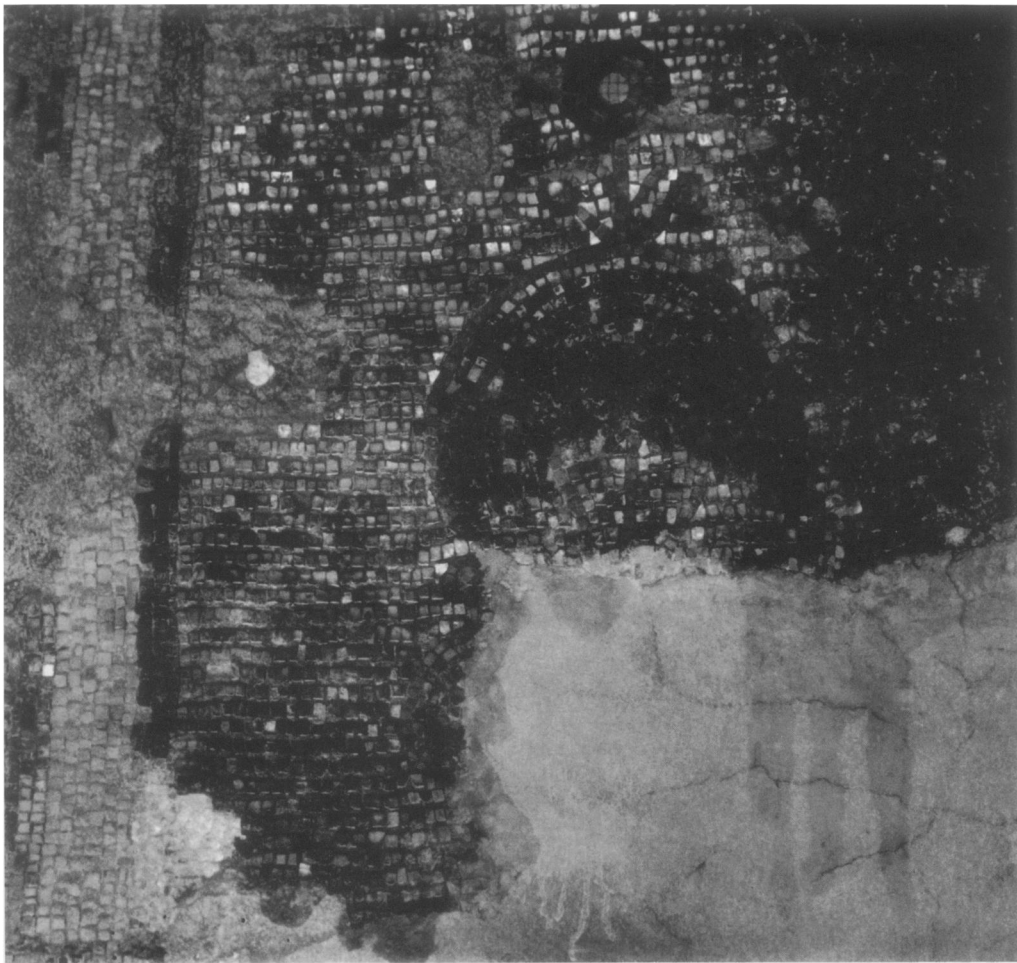
35. Altar, Top



36. Ciborium, Left Lamp



37. Ciborium, Right Lamp

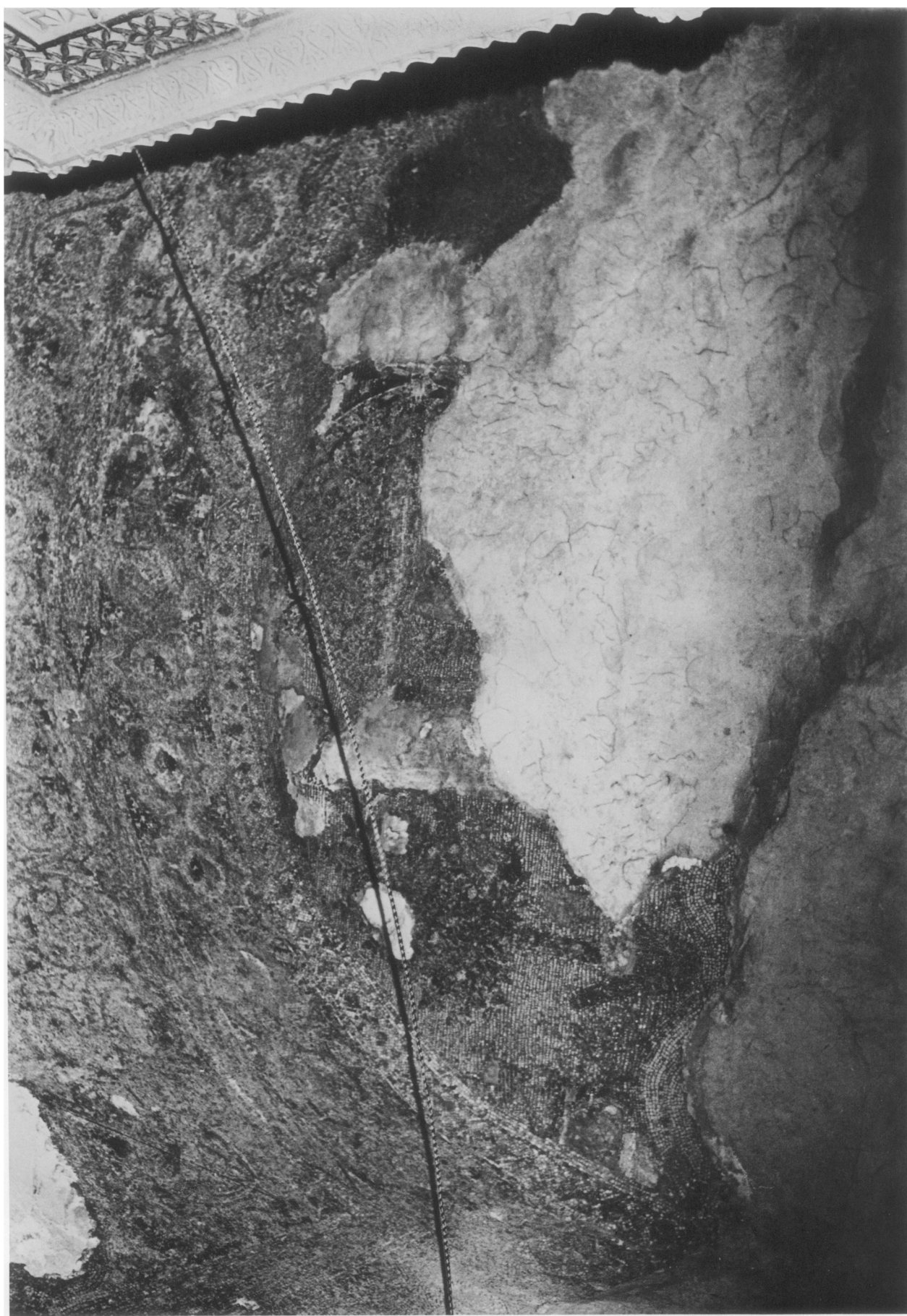


38. Right Half, Plants



39. Left Half, Inscription and Plants

Kartmin, South Lunette



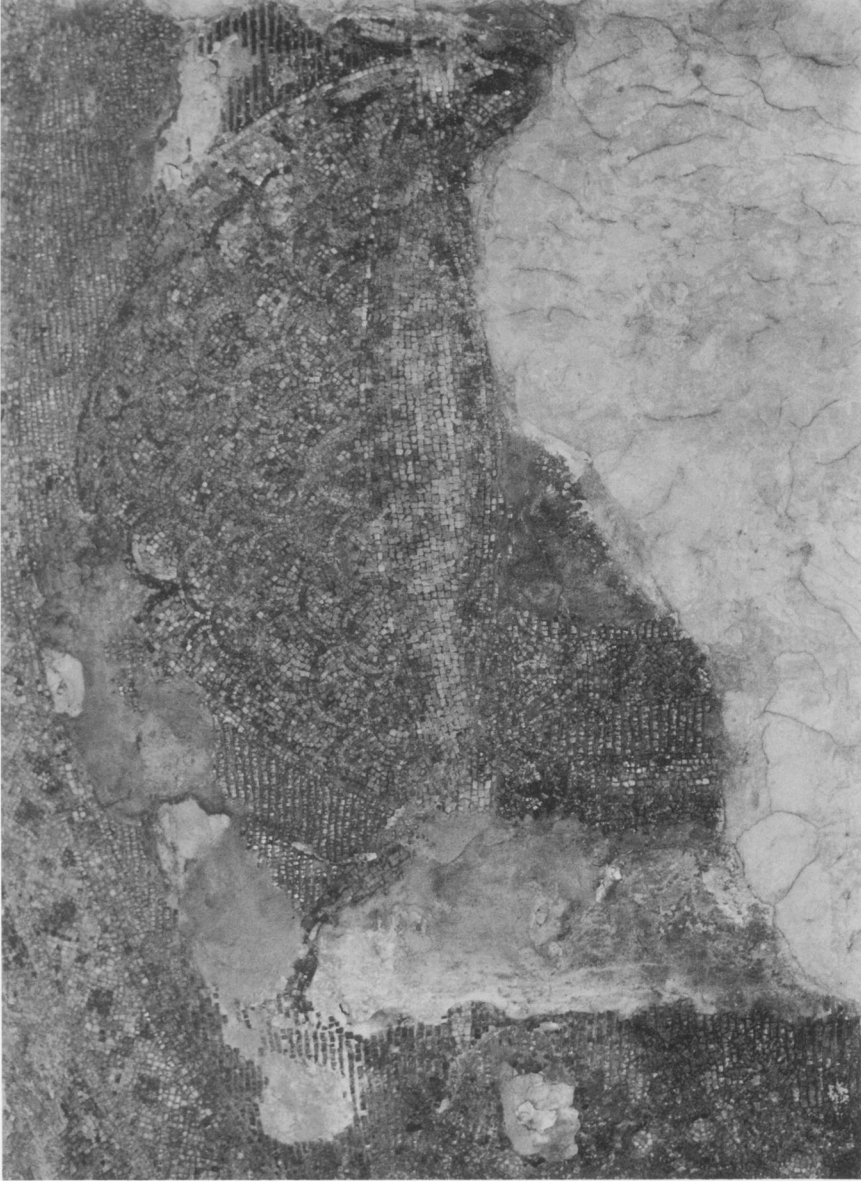
40. Kartmin, North Lunette, General View



41. Kartmin, North Lunette, General View



42. Left Half, Tree and Plant

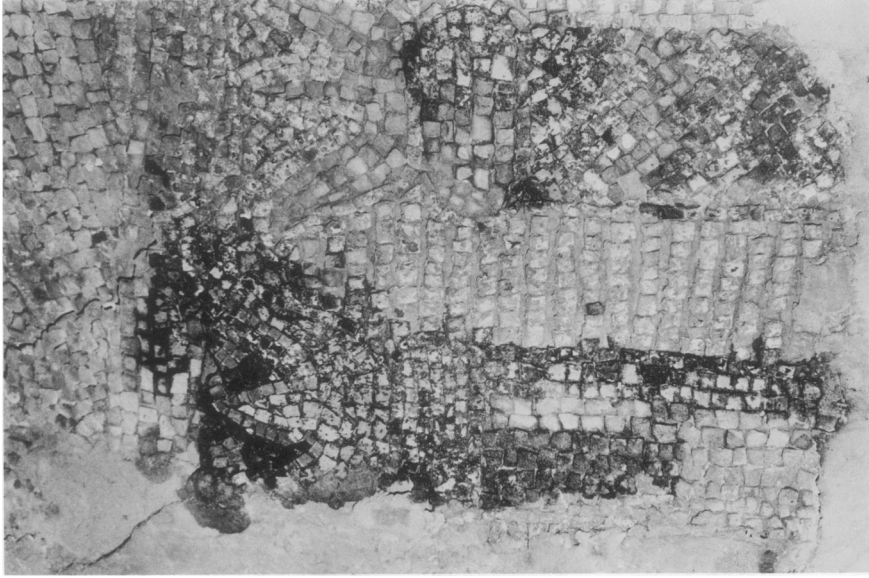


43. Ciborium, Dome

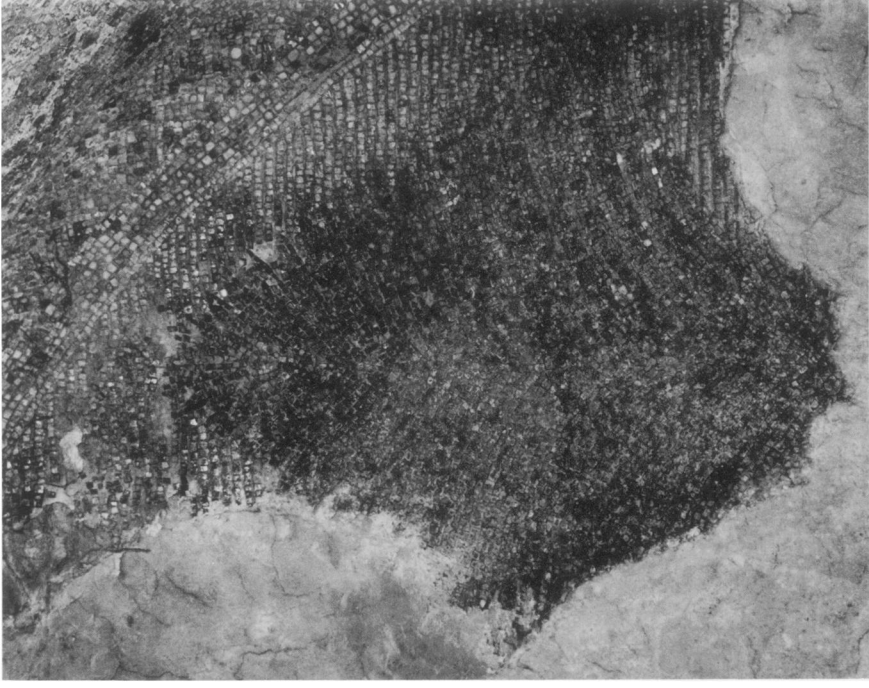
Kartmin, North Lunette



44. Left Half, Plant

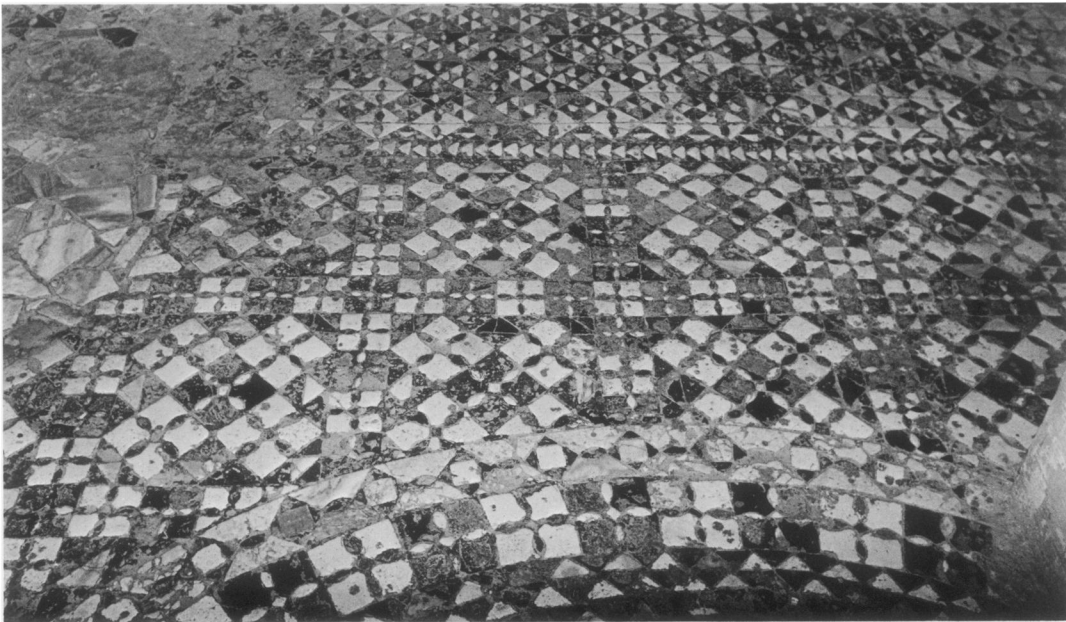


45. Ciborium, Left-hand Capitals
(see also color fig. B)



46. Right Half, Tree

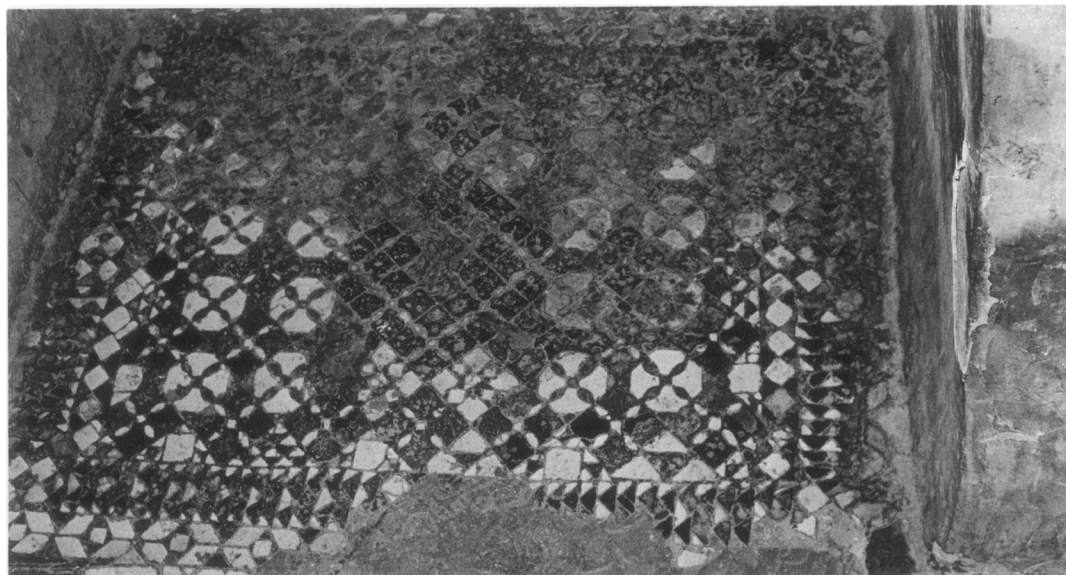
Kartmin, North Lunette



47. North Side, looking North



48. Central Section, looking East



49. Section under West Doorway
Kartmin, Sanctuary Pavement